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WORK STOPPAGES

B.C. labour board ruling

The British Columbia Labour Relations Board has ruled that strikes against rollbacks ordered by the Anti-Inflation Board are illegal. It says strikes may still be permitted over disagreements about how the total amount of compensation within the anti-inflation guidelines is distributed or on other matters outside the scope of the guidelines. But strikes are not permitted whose objective is to force an employer to go beyond settlement terms approved by the AIB.

The decision comes rather late in the day, in view of the possibility of disbandment of the guidelines either later this year or early next year, before they've run their full three-year term. But it nevertheless delineates the scope of union options should the government ever feel compelled to introduce controls again.

It is also in marked contrast with a Canada Labour Relations Board ruling in the case of a four-month strike by workers at the Cyprus Anvil Ltd. lead-zinc-silver mine in the Yukon last year. The union concerned, the United Steelworkers of America, admitted the strike was aimed directly at an AIB rollback. The Canada board ruled that, since the rollback had rendered the negotiated settlement null and void, a contract no longer existed and therefore could not be breached by a strike.

In a written judgment, Paul Weiler, the B.C. board chairman, said no strike can be legal if its purpose is to force an employer to do something illegal; for example, to ignore an AIB ruling and pay out wage increases it had specifically disapproved.

He went on: "Can a union be said to be bargaining in good faith if it insists that an employer agree to do something which the employer has just been told by the AIB — in clear, concrete, unmistakable language — will be illegal under a federal statute? That would not seem to be a terribly sensible course of action from the perspective of the employees.

"Be that as it may, union members who pursue that course clearly do not deal in good faith with their employer if they try to coerce the latter into violating the law. And if bargaining which precedes a strike is in contravention of the labour code, this in turn places a legal taint on the strike action itself...

"There may be many contentious issues that the parties have to resolve following an AIB ruling... how to distribute the permissible compensation among wages or fringe benefits or across different classifications, or whether the union may retrieve non-monetary concessions it had earlier made or obtain new concessions from the employer now that the employees must take less money.

"If driven to that, the union may legally strike to resolve an impasse about these legitimate areas of disagreement within the framework of the Anti-Inflation Act and the AIB decision. But the union is not entitled to strike its employer to challenge a ruling made by the AIB about the compensation package in its collective agreement.

"If it wants to have the AIB decision reversed, it must pursue the peaceful avenues of appeal afforded by the Anti-Inflation Act."

The B.C. board's ruling was in the form of a declaration, based on an application by Vancouver school board employees for an opinion about the validity of a pre-rollback contract they had negotiated. The employees had not gone on strike but they wanted to know where they stood anyway.

QUALITY OF WORK LIFE

Ontario QWL committee

The Ontario ministry of labour has launched its own quality-of-working-life initiative with the appointment of an advisory committee of six senior leaders from labour and management. At its June 10 opening meeting, the committee asked the department to identify and evaluate all the quality-of-working-life programs now under way in the province. It intends to invite both labour and management participants in the programs to meet with it and "share their wisdom and experience."

The members of the committee are Ralph Barford, chairman of the board, GSW Limited; Stewart Cooke, director, district 6, United Steelworkers of America; William Dimma, president, *Toronto Star*; Robert Hurlbut, president, General Foods Limited; Clifford Pilkey, president, Ontario Federation of Labour; Robert White, administrative assistant to the international vice-president and director for Canada, United Auto Workers.

In a statement issued after the meeting, the ministry said the committee found there was little public awareness of the quality-of-working-life activities existing in Ontario and has therefore "decided to concentrate its early efforts on developing a greater appreciation of the extent and effectiveness" of initiatives in the province.

McGill establishes QWL program

McGill University's Industrial Relations Centre has established a quality-of-working-life program, headed by sociology professor William Westley. The centre has established a seminar program to instruct business and labour officials on the dynamics of the concept, and it is looking for companies that will volunteer to participate in demonstration projects.

WORKING TIME

Decline in average hours

Average weekly working hours in manufacturing have declined in most industrialized countries in the decade ended in 1975, an International Labour Organization study shows. Some examples: Canada, from 39.9 to 37.7; Belgium from 42.3 to 34.8 hours; Denmark from 39 to 32.9; the U.S., 41.3 to 39.4; and Japan, 44.6 to 38.8. However, manufacturing employees in several European countries still work more than 40 hours a week, including the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, France, Spain and the Netherlands.

In South Korea, employees in manufacturing were still working an average 50.7-hour week in 1975. In the food industry, the work week was 58 hours in Ecuador, 56.8 in Guatemala, 46.4 in Ireland and 46.2 in Czechoslovakia.

THE ECONOMY

Services underrated

Business columnist Don McGillvray says Canadians are living in a post-industrial society but that their minds — and their public policies — "are still back in the industrial era when goods, not services, were the main products of the economy."

Writing in the Montreal daily, *The Gazette*, McGillvray, a columnist with Southam News Services, points out that although Canadian workers who produced goods outnumbered those producing services in 1951, they now were outnumbered two to one by service workers. Moreover, 60 per cent of the gross national produce now is in the form of services, compared with 47 per cent a quarter century ago.

Nevertheless, he writes, the income tax system has "discriminated" against the service industries since 1972 by taxing them at a higher rate than manufacturers. Yet since 1972 "manufacturing has produced 78,000 jobs or 6 per cent of the nearly 1.3 million new jobs that appeared. The disfavoured service sector has produced 1.14 million new jobs, or about 88 per cent of all new jobs." Creation of

HEALTH AND SAFETY

Planning secretariat director

J.H. Currie has been appointed director-general of the planning secretariat for the Canadian Centre for Occupational Health and Safety, part of the Canada Department of Labour's fourteen-point program to improve labour relations and provide a better working environment for Canadians. Currie was formerly director of the department's occupational safety and health branch.

The establishment of the centre is being undertaken in co-operation with the Department of National Health and Welfare, and will provide for participation by

provincial governments, labour, management and the scientific community. Its principal task will be to foster research and to assemble and disseminate the best available information on the problems of occupational health and safety in Canada.

new manufacturing jobs had actually slowed down: "In the five years before Finance Minister Turner changed the tax system, 101,000 new manufacturing jobs were created, about 12.8 per cent of all new jobs."

He adds: "This suggests that the government's incentives have not been enough to stimulate manufacturing or to discourage the growth of the service sector. But all sectors of the economy have not been able to produce enough jobs to match the growth of the work force. It is possible that by applying its stimulus — something like $4 billion worth in total — in the wrong place the government has held back job creating instead of increasing it."

But "ending tax discrimination" against the service sector would be only a beginning: "Much more difficult is the change from an outdated industrial mentality which sees hard, tangible goods as the only real output and regards the service industries as free riders on the backs of the goods producers."

FEDERATIONS OF LABOUR CONVENTIONS

New Brunswick

The 400 delegates to the May 16-18 convention of the New Brunswick Federation of Labour, in Moncton, adopted a strong resolution opposing wage controls. It called on both the federal and N.B. governments to "get out of controls immediately for all workers in both the private and public sectors." The convention also adopted a resolution urging the provincial government to take immediate action to relieve the province's heavy unemployment, especially in the Miramichi region where, the resolution said, the jobless rate had reached 35 per cent.

Other resolutions called for increased government benefits to employees of provincial hospitals and jails, including psychiatric counselling and alternative employment for "burned out" workers; reaffirmed the Federation's commitment to the New Democratic Party, and called on all local unions and labour councils to establish political education committees.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Finland establishes program

By early 1978, most Finnish government departments will have introduced a form of worker participation devised to suit their own circumstances. The monthly publication *Industrial Relations-Europe,* published in Brussels reports the recent establishment of the first such program in the ministry of finance. Staff councils have been set up and staff representatives attend meetings of department heads.

MOTIVATION

Singles less motivated

Less than 10 per cent of Japan's unmarried workers regard their job as their prime interest. Instead, they show more concern for sports and other leisure activities.

A survey by the Japanese Economic Planning Agency also reports that the "dokushin kisoku" — bachelor aristocrats — who make up about half the work force, earn salaries that are generally lower than those of married workers. They tend to have more money to spend on entertainment, however. Most bachelors live in subsidized dormitories and most unmarried women live with their families.

PEOPLE

Morris elected ILO chairman

Joe Morris, president of the Canadian Labour Congress, was elected chairman of the governing body of the International Labour Organization, in Geneva, June 26. This is the first time in the 58-year history of the United Nations tripartite agency that a workers' representative has been elected to this most senior position. Previously the post had usually gone to representatives of governments.

The chairmanship is not a full-time position, and Morris will remain CLC president until the Congress' next convention May 8-12, 1978, Winnipeg, when he intends to retire at age 65.

In his presidential address, Paul LePage, a Bathurst steelworker, who was re-elected for a one-year term as president, strongly criticized existing labour legislation. He said "glaring loopholes" hampered the workers' right to organize into unions, and that more and more certification decisions by the provincial labour relations board were being challenged by employers and overthrown by the courts. lg

Deterrents to unionization

by Ed Finn

At the end of 1975, union members in Canada constituted 29.7 per cent of the total labour force, and 37 per cent of non-agricultural paid workers. Preliminary figures for 1976 indicate that these percentages slipped somewhat as a result of the imposition of wage controls. Before October 1975 the number of union members had been rising by about 6 per cent a year, but in 1976 that growth dropped to just over 2 per cent.

Union leaders had anticipated that slowdown. The limits imposed on wage gains inevitably undermine the appeal of unions to unorganized workers. Unions have much more to offer, of course, than higher wages — more security, a proper grievance procedure, and better fringe benefits, for example — but there is no denying that the lure of larger negotiated pay levels is paramount.

With most employers paying close to the maximum allowed by the guidelines, that big incentive to join a union has greatly diminished.

The other deterrent to organizing was the increased work load that controls have imposed on union representatives and negotiators. The trend toward signing one-year contracts — a trend induced by the controls — plunged many union officers into negotiations on a continual basis.

When not at the bargaining table, they were most likely to be found at the Anti-Inflation Board offices, making inquiries, or trying to get the board to review its rulings and rollbacks. When an appeal was successful, it often required the reopening and renegotiation of the collective agreement. As a consequence, the time left to overworked union staffs to organize new groups of workers has been minimal.

Ed Finn, director of publications and information for the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers, writes a regular column on labour for The Toronto Star.

Other factors accounting for the reduced union growth last year include the continued sluggishness of the economy, and the soaring levels of unemployment. Historically, workers are more inclined to join unions during economic booms, because that's when the biggest and most publicized wage gains are achieved, and employers are less resistant to union organizing drives.

High unemployment eats into union growth, of course, because many of those who were laid off held union cards, or would swell union ranks automatically if they found jobs in a unionized industry.

If we assume that the slackening pace of union growth last year is an aberration induced by controls, and will disappear when controls are lifted, the prospects for a resurgence in the years ahead appear encouraging. It is highly significant — and more than a little paradoxical — that, among those employees who did join unions in 1976, were farmhands, doctors, and bank employees. All three groups have been non-union for so long that they were considered to be virtually unorganizable.

The unionized doctors are interns in several west coast hospitals, and thus more akin to wage earners than to their more affluent fellow M.D.s. Their incentive for forming a union had more to do with their excessive hours of work than with pay, though they did negotiate a sizeable salary increase as well as a shorter work week in their first contract.

So far only a small number of farm workers have been organized, again in British Columbia, but the successful certification bid by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers' union for 18 employees of South Peace Farms near Dawson Creek sets an historic precedent (LG, June 1977, p.260). The B.C. Labour Relations Board is the first to certify a union to represent farm hands, and indicated in its ruling that it would look favourably on any subsequent applications. It noted disapprovingly that the average wage paid farm workers — $3.42 an hour — is only half the average hourly rate paid to unionized workers in the province.

In the past, a breakthrough such as this one in an industry previously impervious to unions has led eventually to the unionization of large numbers of workers, and often to the entire industry becoming organized. It is difficult to say whether this will happen with Canadian farm workers. The transient and seasonal nature of their work, and their dispersion

over such large territories will be formidable barriers to further organizing. On the other hand, seven other provinces now make farm workers eligible for union membership (with Ontario a notable exception), and their total number — more than 40,000 — is more than sufficient to stimulate union efforts to recruit them.

A great deal will depend on what kind of contract the OCAW is able to negotiate for the South Peace Farm workers. If it contains substantial improvements in their pay and working conditions, it will almost certainly predispose more farm workers to unionize, and once a few thousand of them have been signed up, the momentum may well spread across the country.

An even larger pool of non-union workers, the 120,000 employees of Canada's 12 chartered banks, is also on the verge of becoming organized. The Canada Labour Relations Board, which holds jurisdiction over the banking industry, ruled in June that individual branches of banks are appropriate bargaining units. The 24 applications it received from two unions seeking to represent employees of bank branches in B.C. and Ontario were the first serious attempts at organizing bank workers since 1959 when the board rejected an application for a union in a bank branch at Kitimat, B.C. The board ruled at that time that a single branch was not an appropriate bargaining unit, and implied that all employees of a bank would have to be organized nationally before a certification could be granted.

Such a massive organizing effort being well beyond union resources, bank employees were pretty well left alone for the next 17 years. (Except, of course, in Quebec, where employees of the Montreal City & District Savings Bank have been fully unionized — no doubt because of their concentration in and around one city.)

Wage controls have greatly diminished the incentive to join unions

But the CLRB has now changed its outlook on the banking industry, and has begun to certify bargaining units that are only regional, or provincial, or even metropolitan in scope. The board still prefers to have national bargaining units, if possible, but is willing now to waive that principle and consider smaller groupings. This is an extremely important policy change by the board, and one that could result in most of the 120,000 bank workers eventually joining the ranks of organized labour. (That's especially true if the banks don't materially raise their employees' salaries above the present average of $8,000 a year!)

These developments, however, are still within the realm of speculation. It may be instructive to look briefly at what has occurred in union growth in Canada over the past three decades, make some international comparisons, and then explore the reasons why two out of every three Canadian workers remain outside the labour movement.

When the Second World War ended, union members numbered only 711,000, making up 15.7 per cent of the labour force, and 24.2 per cent of non-agricultural workers. By 1955, their number had jumped to 1,268,000, representing 24 per cent of the workforce and a substantial 34 per cent with agriculture excluded. However, this percentage gain is attributable largely to the slow growth of the overall workforce in this period. In the next two decades, when the tidal wave from the postwar "baby boom" inundated the workforce, union organizers had to redouble their efforts simply to maintain the 1955 percentage levels. By 1965, although more than 1.5 million workers were unionized, their share of the labour force was slightly less than 24 per cent, while the non-agricultural figure had dropped to 30 per cent.

It wasn't until the late 1960s — thanks mainly to the addition of many hundreds of thousands of teachers, nurses, government employees and other public service workers to union ranks — that the percentages started to edge upward again, reaching the present record levels of close to 30 per cent and 36 per cent. The unionization of public employees and professionals was the key development. Without that mass breakthrough, organized labour's share of the non-agricultural workforce would have sunk at least as low as it has in the United States where it now stands at slightly less than 26 per cent.

The importance of organizing in the public sector is underlined by the massive restructuring that the Canadian economy has undergone since the early 1950s. At that time the primary industries — farming, fishing, forestry and mining — provided 23.3 per cent of the country's jobs. They now provide only 7.3 per cent. In 1951 the secondary industries — manufacturing and construction — provided 33.1 per cent of all jobs and today 26.5 per cent.

The public sector already supplied 43.6 per cent of jobs in 1951. As of April of this year 66.2 per cent of Canadian workers were in service occupations. If the trend continues, servicing will employ 75

er cent of all workers by 1985, eaving only 25 per cent in primary nd secondary industries.

t is understandable, then, that nost union growth in recent years as been in the public sector, and hat trend seems likely to ontinue. The Canadian Union of Public Employees has more than loubled its size in the past 12 ears, and now with some 220,000 nembers has surged ahead of the Jnited Steelworkers of America as he largest union in the country.

Workers are more inclined to join unions during economic booms

Even with the rapid unionization of public service workers, however, the Canadian labour movement has only marginally increased its share of the burgeoning workforce. Compared with the 30 per cent of wage and salary earners in Canada who are unionized, other industrialized countries (apart from the U.S.) have considerably larger numbers of workers in their trade unions. Sweden's figure is 75 per cent, Austria 65 per cent, Australia 53 per cent, Britain 48 per cent, West Germany 37 per cent, and Japan 36 per cent.

The usual explanation for Canada's relatively low rate of unionization, and that of the U.S., is that unions in North America have not yet won the kind of respect and acceptance that have been accorded unions in Europe and other parts of the world. A secondary reason often given is that the gains won by organized labour on this continent tend to be passed on more quickly to non-union workers than is the case elsewhere, thus reducing the incentive to unionize.

Both these answers are valid, though they are by no means the only ones. It is true that unions in Canada — even more so than in the U.S. — are still widely regarded as bothersome intruders into the economic system, as troublemakers to be resisted wherever possible, and at best to be merely tolerated. Our educational system either ignores labour relations in its courses on economics and civics, or treats it as an unimportant — and rather disreputable — subject.

As Stewart Jamieson of the University of British Columbia remarks in a recent address to the annual meeting of the Canadian Industrial Relations Research Institute in Fredericton, organized labour in Canada has also been denied a voice in shaping economic policies. "These have been formulated," he notes, "by both provincial and federal governments, on a neo-Mercantilist basis, in close association with major business interests. Organized labour has been virtually excluded in most cases."

This image of unions as organized groups of anarchists has been dutifully purveyed by the media, which delights in bannering news of strikes and strike threats, editorially denouncing union "greed" and "irresponsibility," while downplaying most of

" NOW AFTER YOU START WORK HERE YOU MAY HEAR RUMORS ABOUT ME BEING HARD TO GET ALONG WITH... "

labour's constructive achievements. It is not to be wondered at that workers whose concept of unions is so distorted should be reluctant to sign up when a union organizer calls. This belief that joining a union is only slightly less disgraceful than joining the Mafia accounted for the long delay by teachers, nurses and other professionals in joining or forming unions. It also explains the tendency of such groups to call their unions "associations" or "guilds" or other euphemisms.

The practice of many non-union employers in keeping their wage and benefit levels in step with those won by unions in organized plants is also a big factor in deterring union growth. There is no way, for example, that the Steelworkers will organize the employees of Dofasco in Hamilton as long as that company maintains its compensation rates at or slightly above those negotiated by the union for Stelco workers across the road. Company paternalism of this kind is an almost insurmountable barrier for union organizers.

Closely allied with paternalism by employers is the policy of governments to enact minimum wage and benefit standards for the protection of unorganized workers. Admittedly, these minimum standards usually fall well below union-won averages, but they often suffice to take enough edge off workers' discontent to discourage their unionization. It is to the credit of the labour movement that, despite this side-effect of minimum employment standards, it has consistently urged that such standards be further improved. The unions have reasoned that they have more to offer workers than higher pay — a better grievance procedure, for example, improved job security and seniority rights, and the intangible (but no less important) enhancement of their dignity. This is no doubt true, but it nevertheless must be conceded that every advance in legislated wage minimums undercuts to some extent the unions' appeal to the unorganized.

Most union growth in recent years has been in the public sector

These social and legislative obstacles to union growth combine to produce an anti-union inertia among unorganized workers. It should be kept in mind that an essential precondition to the unionization of any group of workers is a desire — or at least a willingness — to join a union. No commitment of union resources, no campaign to woo and sign them up, however extensive, can succeed unless the workers themselves feel a need for union representation. With unions portrayed as social lepers, it sometimes requires an overpowering motivation by workers to offset the anti-union bias inculcated by the schools and the media. The employer has to be excessively mean and autocratic to push his employees into a union. Fortunately for the labour movement, many employers fit that description, and unwittingly do more than the unions to stimulate their growth.

The point is that there has to be some degree of receptivity to a union's advances among the employees before organizing efforts can succeed. Whether it arises from the negative actions of management or the positive examples set by the union elsewhere, it has to be there. Its absence for so long among such groups as nurses, teachers and civil servants accounts in large measure for their failure to unionize sooner than they did.

Another point that should be ma about large groups of non-union workers, especially professional and white-collar employees, is th they can rarely be induced to jo existing unions. If they decide eventually to become unionized, they almost always do so by establishing new unions of their own. This is partly due to pride, partly a desire to stand somewh aloof from the grimy labour masses — but also, legitimately, because they have the required size and resources to provide th specialized services they need, and which other unions would f it difficult to supply.

There are, of course, many work — mostly those in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations, and fragmented among thousands o small companies — who genuin want to join a union, but are afra to do so. They are afraid of reprisals by their employers whe they find out some workers have signed union cards. Our federal and provincial labour laws, of course, make it illegal for an employer to fire or otherwise discipline employees for joining union or helping to organize a union. That comes under the heading of "unfair labour practices." But such sections of thes labour codes are so laxly enforc that they are all but worthless. They might as well be deleted.

About all they accomplish, occa sionally, is to enable a union to get a worker reinstated — usual many months after the employe reprisals have blocked the orga nizing effort. And an employer found guilty of union-busting is not penalized in any way, other than to be forced to rehire employees fired for union activi It is no wonder that owners and

managers bent on keeping unions out of their plants feel free to ignore the laws prohibiting unfair labour practices; they know such laws can be flouted with impunity.

In addition to their failure to prevent employers from firing and disciplining workers who respond to union overtures, our labour codes and the certification procedures and policies of our various labour relations boards are not at all conducive to effective organizing. Many still require proof that more than half the workforce have been signed up. That may seem fair, and it would be if the employer were prevented from undermining the bargaining unit by

Minimum standards take the edge off workers' discontent

harassing employees and masterminding anti-union petitions and statements repudiating their union membership. The 50 per cent requirement would also be more defensible if all boards processed certification bids promptly or at least based their decisions on the status of the bargaining unit at the time the application was made. The long delays that characterize the processing of most certification bids, however, leave ample time for employers to undermine the unit. Even without employer involvement, the passage of time without any progress toward a collective agreement is sufficient in itself to weaken the employees' commitment. In most cases, therefore, a union can expect an erosion of between 10 per cent and 30 per cent of the bargaining unit while waiting for certification, or for a representational vote. So in practice it needs to sign up at least 70 per cent and preferably 80 per cent of the eligible employees, so as to allow for the inevitable drop-off in support.

Most unions can tell horror stories of having signed up 80 per cent or more of a group, and then eventually losing them through management harassment or board tardiness, or both.

Even when certification is granted, a resolutely anti-labour employer still has one last weapon to employ — and it is a powerful one. That is to prolong negotiations for a first contract indefinitely, and either provoke a strike he knows the union can't win, or use the delay to incite employee discontent with the union. In either case, such an employer often succeeds in getting rid of the union through a decertification application — one he has himself fostered by frustrating the union's efforts to get anywhere at the bargaining table. A cunning employer can withhold improvements in pay that he would otherwise have given, and arouse anti-union sentiment by blaming it on the union.

Delay is thus a formidable enemy of unionization at all stages of organizing, certification, and the negotiation of a first contract. As the law now reads, a determined anti-union employer can usually prevail over a union at one or another of these stages, given sufficient time to exploit all the built-in delays.

In some jurisdictions amendments to the Labour codes have reduced such delays, and in a couple the investment of boards with the power to impose a first contract have been initiated or are contemplated. In the federal jurisdiction, the board is to be empowered to grant quick interim certifications where delays in processing the application are clearly of a technical nature. These are welcome reforms, but they are as yet too spotty or too far in the future to be of immediate benefit to union organizers.

Another question that must be considered in a discussion of union growth is whether, despite these social and legislative barriers to organizing, the unions themselves are trying as hard as they can to bring more workers into their ranks. The answer to that question is that most unions are, but some — for a variety of reasons — are not.

Social and legislative obstacles produce an anti-union inertia among unorganized workers

Any examination of certification applications to the federal and provincial boards would establish the fact that, although organizing activities have diminished in the past few years (mainly because of the inhibiting effects of controls) the majority of unions have continued to devote as much time, effort and manpower to this activity as they can muster. That function, however, as always, is subject to several conditional and limiting factors.

First of all, there is the size of the union, which in turn determines to some extent the resources it can commit to organizing. The fragmentation of the Canadian labour movement must be viewed as an inhibiting rather than a conducive factor. Among the more than 100 unions having fewer than 10,000 members, the resources available for organizing are necessarily minimal. Then, too, the proliferation of unions often leads to competition among them for the same groups of workers, and the wasteful expenditure of resources in inter-union conflict that would

otherwise be more constructively employed. Even the raiding fights involving already organized groups detract from the time and resources available for enlisting new members.

Schools and media inculcate an anti-union bias

It should be emphasized, too, that the servicing needs of existing members invariably take precedence over organizing campaigns. If those needs are exceptionally demanding, as was the case in the first year under controls, it is not unusual that all available time of officers and staff are occupied in meeting them.

Other factors, such as the nature of the industry, and the number and length of collective agreements, are also relevant in deciding the extent of a union's organizing efforts. A union whose membership is splintered among many small firms, each with its own contract, is not likely to do as much organizing as a union with members covered by one or more industry-wide agreements.

Other unions have virtually reached the limits of their growth, because of the limits of the industries in which they are situated. This is the case with the building trades, with most of the marine unions, and with some of the public service unions. They can only expand as the industry or government agency expands. The craft unions, of course, are in a position to control their own size through their hiring halls and apprenticeship systems, but are in effect controlled more by the expansions and contractions of the construction industry. The same is true of the seamen's unions, to a lesser degree.

Finally, the unions cannot be insensitive to the cost of organizing — and to the attendant cost of servicing new groups, particularly if they consist of fewer than 20 or a dozen workers. It is a hard fact of union life that it is just as costly to negotiate for and service a small group as a large one. And another hard fact is that most of the unorganized Canadian workers are employed in small plants and offices, laundries, gas stations, stores, and restaurants. They're not only more difficult and costly to organize than those in larger industries, but they're costlier to service.

Unions don't consciously take a profit/loss approach to organizing. If they did, few groups of less than 100 workers would be unionized, when in fact literally thousands of such units are to be found in union ranks. Generally speaking, the large groups that can "profitably" be organized and serviced don't mind subsidizing the enlistment of smaller groups, so long as their own servicing needs are fulfilled. But there is a limit beyond which this subsidization of "uneconomic" groups cannot g without pushing the union to th brink of bankruptcy. A union, lik any other organization, can't aff to let its expenditures exceed it dues revenue — and there is al a limit to the willingness of uni members to accept dues increa designed primarily to finance n organizing drives.

The employer has to be exce sively mean to push his workers into a union

There may be other deterrents unionization — social, legal, st tural or institutional — that hav not been touched upon in this article. (One that could be men tioned is the geographical loca of unorganized workers. A unio reluctant to sign up workers in far north, for example, because their remoteness for the union servicing facilities would add prohibitive transportation costs already steep servicing expens But the mere enumeration of th organizing hindrances that hav been discussed should suffice explain why two out of three workers in Canada still remain unorganized.

Indeed, in view of all these inh iting factors, the surprising thi is not that our unions have org nized so few, but that they hav organized so many. lg

A better deal for Canada's unorganized workers

the following article, federal bour Minister John Munro dis- sses a controversial initiative in bour Canada's 14-point program improve the work environment. is is a set of proposals for proving the working conditions d the job security of unorga- zed workers in this country.

It is controversial because some employers have exhibited a knee-jerk reaction against it. And some trade union officials are sceptical about the government doing anything for unorganized workers which might make trade unions less attractive as the champion of workers' rights. Munro can sympathize, to a certain extent, with these employers and these trade unionists. But he thinks most people would agree that these proposals to improve the Canada Labour Code are both timely and necessary.

wo out of every three Canadian orkers are still unorganized. They ave no trade unions to represent em. Although more than three illion men and women are mem- ers of trade unions, twice as any workers remain outside nion ranks. In the federal juris- ction there are some 500,000 orkers of whom about half are norganized. This elementary fact industrial life is often over- oked. When we speak of abour" in its collective sense, we sually think organized labour.

nions provide the structures and rocedures, and furnish the adership through which the terests of their members can be dvanced and protected. They ave the resources to deal with overnments and their agencies, nd to ensure that the needs of eir members are kept in mind hen policies are formed and gislation drafted.

norganized workers don't have is protection. They have to deal dividually with their employers, nd individually with governments. ney are not, however, entirely on their own. The labour movement of this country is more than a collection of trade unions. It is a social movement committed to improving the working conditions and the distribution of income among Canadians, including unorganized workers. It also has an outstanding record for advocating and supporting social programs, such as medicare, retirement pensions and regional economic expansion, for the benefit of all Canadians.

Governments, too, have taken an active role in protecting the unorganized. I am referring to the labour standards codes of the federal and provincial governments, which provide for the protection of wage levels, hours of work, general holidays, overtime premiums, and paid vacations.

The protection of unorganized workers is by no means a secondary function of my department, or of the provincial departments of labour. It is, if anything, a more important duty because the organized sector has, to a significant degree, the collective strength to look after its own interests.

At this point it might be well to ask the question: Just why is only one third of the Canadian labour force unionized? Just why is it that two out of every three Canadian workers do not have the umbrella of protection of belonging to a union?

The unorganized are mainly among white-collar workers, women, and those in small establishments. These small units — in which most of the unorganized white-collar employees are found — do present particular organizational difficulties to the trade unions.

Wholesale and retail trade, finance, insurance and real estate, the service industries — these are the least-organized industrial groups. The number of workers in the service industries — but not including public administration — increased by 2.2 million in the period 1966 to 1976, or an increase of 68 per cent.

The overall increase in the labour force in the period 1966 to 1976 was 2.8 million, or about 39 per cent. Clearly the service sector

has been growing faster than the total labour force. But the increase in union membership in the service sector has failed to keep pace with the growth of employment in this sector. In 1975, 6.2 per cent of employees in the private sector service industries were members of trade unions, compared with 5.2 per cent in 1966.

I have already mentioned that small units are obviously more difficult to organize. In addition they are not as attractive to organize because the per capita organizing cost is higher.

What the Canada Labour Code now provides for unorganized workers

I would like to turn now to the Canada Labour Code, what it provides, and the amendments that we are proposing in order to improve the job security and the work environment of unorganized workers.

If you look at the Canada Labour Code, which my department administers, you will note that it is divided into five parts. Only one of them, Part V, is specifically designed for organized workers. Part V is intended to formalize and facilitate relations between unions and employers. It provides for the certification of unions to represent groups of workers. It sets forth collective bargaining procedures. It provides for the resolution of disputes through conciliation and mediation, and as a last resort through strikes or lockouts. In short, the government acts more as a referee or a mediator in the union-company relationship, leaving it essentially to the parties to work out the ways and means of protecting their separate and joint interests.

The other three operable parts of the Labour Code are intended to compensate for the unorganized workers' lack of collective bargaining rights.

Part I imposes a set of fair employment practices, prohibiting discrimination in employment on the basis of race, religion, colour and national origin.

Part III establishes hours of work, minimum wage rates, and general holidays, as well as providing for maternity leave and severance pay, and for advance notice of terminations.

Part IV sets standards for ensuring the safety of employees in their work.

(Part II was previously concerned with women's rights in the workplace. These rights are now covered in other parts of the Code.)

If employed by an industry that comes under federal jurisdiction, the employee knows that his standard work week is 40 hours. He can work up to eight hours more at overtime rates. The employer cannot compel him to work longer hours unless he does so by permit, or in an emergency situation.

The employee must be paid a minimum wage, periodically adjusted by the government.

He must be given an annual vacation with pay of at least two weeks every year after completing his first year of employment.

He is entitled to eight general holidays per year.

In the event of termination, he must be given ample advance notice — up to 16 weeks if he is one of a large number to be terminated — and if he has five years or more service, severance pay amounting to two days' wa for each year completed.

If the unorganized employee is woman, she is protected by tw additional clauses of the Code. One is based on the equal-pay-f equal-work principle which stip lates that employers cannot pa employees different rates of pa for the same or similar work on basis of sex. Another provision gives her entitlement of 17 wee maternity leave after she finish her first year of employment.

The Canada Labour Code also imposes on employers the duty making sure that their employe are not subjected to working conditions that would endange their health or safety. Safety officers assigned to enforce Pa IV of the Code are empowered, they find a workplace poses imminent danger to employees order its closure until correctiv measures are taken.

These are the principal rights and minimum benefits which employers must confer upon th employees under the Code. The are others, such as a prohibitio against firing an employee because part of his wage has b garnisheed.

Nevertheless, there are defi- ciencies. There are obvious loo holes that need to be plugged, provisions that need to be strengthened. And there are a f employment conditions that ha been neglected.

roposed new protection for unorganized workers

e must realize that attitudes ward labour relations practices nd to change rapidly. What was cceptable five years ago may be onsidered unacceptable today. art III of the federal code has not een substantially altered for five ears. In the kind of fluid and olving work environment we ave in Canada, that is too long for rotective legislation to go without n overhaul.

early a dozen proposed amend-ents to Part III are now ready for bling in the House of Commons. he one that has received most ublicity so far is the protection gainst unjust dismissal to be fforded unorganized workers. thers, while not as controversial, re no less important.

) I am proposing to extend to all orkers the right to up to three ays' paid bereavement leave in ne event of a death in the nmediate family. This is a benefit nat has become standard in ollective agreements. Its exten-ion into the unorganized sector is ng overdue.

2) I am proposing a standard that ould protect from dismissal orkers who are absent from work r a period of 12 weeks because f sickness or injury.

3) The maternity leave provision is o be amended to prevent the ismissal of a pregnant employee ho has less than 12 months ervice.

4) The vacation clause is to be mproved to entitle workers to hree weeks' paid vacation each ear after six years of service. Two dditional holidays with pay will be ranted, Boxing Day and one ther, probably Heritage Day.

(5) Believe it or not, we have had cases where employers have refused to pay wages earned by their employees, so we are adding a section requiring the prompt and regular payment of wages.

(6) The formula whereby employers may average hours of work in certain situations involving maximum hours and overtime has unfortunately been misused, so we will stop leaving such arrangements to their discretion. They will in future have to obtain a ministerial permit to average hours of work.

Some of these changes will no doubt annoy some employers, but I feel sure that the majority who believe in treating employees fairly will have no difficulty. Most of them already grant these, or improved benefits to their employees voluntarily.

(7) The proposed protection against unjust dismissal will be breaking new ground in Canada. It will give the unorganized worker a procedure for appealing against a dismissal he believes to be unjust. Several other countries, including Britain, West Germany, India and Australia, have enacted such legislation. So far it has been omitted from our federal and provincial labour laws. I think the time has come to extend this elementary right to non-union workers.

It will simply give them a mechanism for appealing alleged unjust dismissal which will be the equivalent of the protection unionized workers now enjoy under their collective agreements. All agreements under Part V of the Labour Code make it mandatory for contracts to contain a means of settling grievances over dismissal. It is only fair that we demonstrate the same concern for the unorganized worker.

I realize that the terms "just" or "unjust" are sometimes difficult to define. However, we have a vast body of arbitral jurisprudence on dismissals in the organized sector. They contain precedents that will enable arbitrators to determine whether a firing is warranted or not. Each case has to be decided according to its circumstances, but the application of the principles of fairness and common sense have established pretty clearly what constitutes just or unjust dismissal.

The Canada Labour Code leaves this determination entirely to the employer in unorganized shops. In giving such workers the right to appeal under the Code, we are confining it to dismissals imposed as a disciplinary measure, but not those actuated by discrimination, which is appealable under the fair employment and human rights legislation.

We are trying, in other words, to discourage employers from firing people unfairly and arbitrarily. But we are not interfering with the employer's right to discharge an employee for incompetence, or for lack of work.

The specific details of the appeal procedure have not been completed, but this is essentially how I expect it will operate. A dismissed employee will have the right to demand a written statement of the reasons for dismissal. If the employee is not satisfied and feels he has a legitimate complaint, he may take it to an officer of the Labour Canada branch in his

locality. The officer will try to arrange a settlement through conciliation. If this effort fails, and if the complaint is considered to have merit, the Minister will then refer it to a third party for final and binding resolution. We don't have the detail on how the third party will be constituted. Possibly we will set up a three-member committee, along the lines of the appeal committees under the Unemployment Insurance Act. The third party, or the committee, would rule on complaints of unjust dismissal, including dismissal of employees who refused to work under "unsafe conditions." At present the Code imposes a duty on an employee not to work under "unsafe" conditions. Now we propose to give workers the *right* not to work under "unsafe" conditions. If punitive action is taken, he will have protection under the Code, just as an employee who has been unfairly discharged.

The committee, or the tribunal, could order the employee's reinstatement with back pay to the time of dismissal. It could assess an amount of compensation in lieu of reinstatement. Or it could rule against the employee.

Attitude of organized labour

I had expected protests from some employers against this particular proposal, but I was somewhat surprised and dismayed to receive objections from a few trade union officials. Their argument is that, if unorganized workers are given this safeguard against unjust dismissal, it will take away an important incentive for them to join a trade union.

I understand and sympathize with the union leaders' concern for this provision as being an impediment to organizing the unorganized. But as Minister, and as a department of labour, we have a responsibility to all workers, not just to organized labour. We cannot justify holding back a right and a benefit as fundamental and as badly needed as this one.

I have been a consistent advocate of a strong and responsible labour movement in this country. I do believe that if you have a strong labour movement, and I believe this especially in the Canadian context, you will have a responsible one. Part of my compulsion for speaking out is my conviction that trade unions have made a very positive contribution to Canadian society.

Therefore, I have no hesitation in repeating a reference to the *Report of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty.* I included it in a speech to the Union-Management-Community Conference at the University of New Brunswick at Saint John two years ago. The Senate Report, you will recall, observed that the ranks of Canadians at, or below, the poverty level were populated substantially by unorganized workers. The Report recommended that there should be easier access to labour unions for workers, particularly those in low-wage industries.

The organization of the unorganized is also a continuing concern of the labour movement. The Canadian Labour Congress, for example, has urged the federal government to establish a special committee to examine both the Canada Labour Code, and the Canada Labour Relations Board requirements and procedures, and come up with recommendations to make it easier for the working poor to join unions. To use the CLC's words, this committee would "identify the very real impediments which act as an effective barrier for workers to join unions."

My own personal belief with respect to this uneasy feeling t the labour movement has abou giving protection against unjus dismissal to the unorganized is that they have come to a faulty conclusion. I believe it may increase the incentive of the unorganized worker to join the labour movement. I know there instances where a worker has b hesitant about joining a trade union because of fear — fear o punitive action, fear of sanction being imposed by the employe fear of being fired, fear of losin out on a promotion. I think givi this protection totally undermin that fear.

I also believe that labour's prob in obtaining greater membersh among the unorganized is due many factors which amendmen to legislation will not overcome First, the very nature of Canada itself. The tremendous expanse the country and the population spread over that expanse make servicing of union membership terrible challenge.

Second, there is the prevalent attitude toward organized labou It's not equally respected with business community in terms o

partnership as it is in many other countries whose economic performance is superior to ours, and whose strike record is far superior to ours. I have visited many of these countries, and there is no denying the fact that the labour movement there is respected on an equal footing with the business community as contributing to the overall health of the economy. That's not the case in Canada.

Until attitudes change I don't think that making changes to the legislation will necessarily work. I think that you have to have the prelude of a change in attitude with respect to the role of labour in our society.

I am hopeful the trade union will change its mind on this proposed protection for the unorganized. The labour movement is the strongest advocate of higher minimum wages, and of improved benefits and safety measures for the unorganized, even though such legislation lessens the incentive to join a trade union. This is a commendable and unselfish attitude for unions to take. I am sure that they will recognize the positive aspects of this initiative, and they will come around to support this measure as well as other labour standards.

Attitudes of management

Employers complain that they simply can't afford unionized employees. They take the position that the business couldn't stand the higher wages. They also regard unions as an interference in their operation.

One of the most common complaints — perhaps more properly labelled a myth — is that small-sized businesses and industries, say those with 200 or fewer employees, would go under if their employees joined a trade union.

What community is well served, I would ask, when a significant proportion of its workforce receives little, if anything, more than the minimum wage? This is certainly the case in some areas of Canada. How can employees improve themselves and their potential in this situation?

We should also recognize the contribution that wages make to the health and prosperity of the business community. John Bullock, president of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, made this point in an address to the Montreal Board of Trade. This was two years ago, but his point is just as valid today. Bullock said, "Because of the purchasing power it creates, small firms in every community in Canada have a vested interest in income distribution...." Mr. Bullock went on to point out that the working poor are wage earners who, through lack of experience or education, are working at the minimum wage and trying at the same time to raise a family. They have always been of concern to the business community.

As minister of labour, I was heartened to hear of this concern. I would like to see this expression of concern among businessmen complemented by a more open, receptive attitude to the question of organization. At least businessmen should not, in their own and in the community interests, reject union organization out of hand as being a threat.

Visiting the Federal Republic of Germany last winter and talking to the employers' organizations and the heads of many of the major unions, I had no doubt of how closely they work together. Trade unions perceive themselves as having a vested interest in profits. Without profits the country does not prosper, the employers do not prosper, and certainly there's nothing to share amongst the workers in terms of increased benefits.

More and more, leaders of the trade union movement in Canada are speaking in this way. Joe Morris, president of the Canadian Labour Congress, speaking to the Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labour, talked about the vested interest that labour in a free enterprise society has in profits.

Most employers understand and agree with the need for legislated work standards, and even for the imposition of a minimum wage. But some employers resent this government intervention. They argue that this kind of legislation is based on the assumption that employers can't be trusted to treat their employees fairly. They object to laws that assume that unorganized workers would be exploited and underpaid if wages and working conditions were left to employers to decide unilaterally. They prefer to let the market determine wages and conditions.

I suppose that the same objection could be made to all laws that regulate the conduct of business

and commercial activity, to all laws prohibiting fraud and usury, all laws against stock manipulation, all limits on industrial pollution, all laws aimed at protecting the interests of consumers.

I certainly don't believe that a majority, or even a large minority, of employers are anti-social. The vast majority would deal decently and ethically with their employees even if there were no legislative compulsion to do so.

But let us be realistic and admit that the self-policing abilities of the business and industrial world are somewhat less than airtight. Let us admit that some employers have been known to mistreat their employees.

Employers who voluntarily adhere to good practices, if not surpass them, should welcome the establishment of improved minimum standards. The standards help to prevent cutthroat competition from outfits that would undersell and underbid more respectable firms by the expedient of operating under sweatshop conditions.

Most employers realize that a decently treated workforce is more productive than one whose morale is low and whose attitudes toward the employer is hostile and mistrustful. It is not solely a matter of conscience that dictates managerial benevolence, but a matter of sound business practice as well.

Other initiatives to improve working conditions of unorganized workers

In addition to these and other proposed amendments to the labour standards section of the Code, I fully expect that some of the other initiatives in the 14-point program will prove of great value to unorganized as well as to organized workers. (LG, June, p.251).

I am thinking specifically of our proposed *code of good labour relations practices.* I am thinking of the *national occupational safety and health centre,* and the *quality of working life centre.* I am thinking of the increased government funding of *labour education.* I am thinking about the task force I am setting up to examine the whole question of *paid education leave for workers.*

The manual of good labour relations practices will serve as a voluntary code for employers of both union and non-union workers, establishing a set of desirable standards that all employers will be encouraged to meet.

The two national centres are designed to improve the quality of working life and the health and safety of work performed by all employees. Of special interest to the unorganized will be the legislated safety and health committees at the plant level. These will give employees a forum to participate with management in making the workplace healthy and safe. Setting up such committees will probably be more difficult in unorganized plants, but the difficulties can and will be overcome.

Most of our increased support for labour education will be funnelled through the Canadian Labour Congress and other labour centres, to help them train professionals, and increase their efforts in labour history. But we will be reserving some funds and other forms of assistance to give unorganized workers opportunities to improve their skills and knowledge.

Paid education leave, in my view, is one of the most vital proposals in the 14-point program. I want to find ways for organized and unorganized workers to enjoy this benefit. I will have more to say about this initiative on another occasion.

Improved conditions for part-time workers

A group of workers in need of special improved measures are those engaged in part-time work. A recent study commissioned by my department, called *Part-time Work in the Canadian Economy* (LG, May, p.232), dispels many myths about part-time workers. It found that the majority of them have family responsibilities, and that only a small percentage are moonlighters. The report distinguishes between the regular part-time worker who has an on-going relationship with an employer, and the casual worker who moves frequently from job to job. It found that the part-time sector has been

growing at a faster rate than the general workforce, and that many service industries are dependent on this kind of employment.

Regrettably, some employers of part-time workers have not been treating them fairly, have instead been holding them to minimum rates of pay with few, if any, fringe benefits. This is a matter we have to be concerned about. Part-time workers have just as much right to legislative protection as do full-time non-union employees. One solution might be to require a pro-rating of benefits, pension contributions, and seniority rights. Another possibility might be to prescribe wage and benefit minimums tailored to the requirements of particular groups of part-time workers.

We need to know more about the needs and interests of this rapidly growing sector of our workforce. But in any event I understand that my department's new initiatives will be broadened to take the concerns of part-time workers into account.

Each one of these proposals responds to a genuine need — to the perceived flaws and failings in our existing legislation, and to the need to adjust minimum employment standards for the majority who are unorganized in the light of progress made on behalf of the minority who are organized.

Experience has shown that these measures are justifiable not just on humanist grounds alone, but in terms of their contribution to a more satisfied and more stable workforce. Minimum standards and benefits do much to overcome important sources of dissatisfaction. This leads to better productivity, lower rates of absenteeism, and a more harmonious relationship between employers and employees. These are objectives that all Canadians share, even if they may not agree on the most appropriate means of achieving them.

As a government, we listen to the views and criticisms of all those affected by our laws and regulations, but ultimately we must make the decision on how and what and when to legislate.

The results of the important revisions made to the Canada Labour Code almost a decade ago have been most gratifying. The same spirit of meeting workers' needs and keeping pace with a rapidly evolving work environment animates the new legislative proposals. They, too, will stand the test of time and much less than another ten years will elapse before their worth is appreciated.

John Munro
Minister, Labour Canada

"That's true, the price they charge for food these days is a crime!"

Labour standards and collective bargaining

by Paul Malles

It is usually said that collective bargaining is the prevailing pattern of Canadian industrial relations. This is only partially true and takes too narrow a view of employer-employee relationships in this country. According to the latest available information, based on Labour Canada's annual surveys of working conditions in Canadian industry, collective bargaining coverage in 1975 amounted to about 70 per cent of non-office employees, 34 per cent of office employees and about 60 per cent of "others", amounting to an average of about 55 per cent of all wage and salary earners. This survey, however, is based on returns for something like 3.3 million employees or about 30 per cent of the workforce. It leaves out the construction industry, employing about 6 per cent of the labour force, of which the residential sector is hardly organized at all, and moreover takes into account only those enterprises with more than 20 employees. Yet even in manufacturing, the only industry for which information is available as to size of establishment, a startling 60 per cent of companies employ fewer than 20 persons and 77 per cent fewer than 50, for a total of close to 300,000 employees. Given then the innumerable small establishments, especially in the private service industries, which employ about 2.5 million, it is not unreasonable to assume that at best 40 to 45 per cent of the paid labour force is actually under collective agreement. Indeed, with the exception of the public and quasi public services, relatively very little progress has been made in recent years in collective bargaining coverage.

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Now, it is undoubtedly true that there may be a certain portion of the labour force that for some reason or other enjoys wages and working conditions as good as or better than those obtained through collective bargaining. It is, nevertheless, also true that a considerable portion of the paid labour force remains without union representation, including many working in marginal industries, or in depressed areas of the country, most office workers and, not infrequently, new immigrants. Moreover, there are certain impediments in our industrial relations law as well as financial and physical limitations on the ability of Canadian trade unions to represent and above all to serve workers in the large number of small enterprises scattered across the country. This portion, which may well number at least one third of the paid labour force, is entirely dependent on the employment minima established by labour standards law and on the efficacy of its enforcement.

Nevertheless, even such minima may run into opposition from time to time. Employers may see them as an unwarranted interference in the labour market. Economists have sometimes argued, though on purely theoretical grounds, that minimum wages create or increase unemployment. Even trade unionists have sometimes taken a rather ambivalent attitude, usually though not always, out of fear that their organizing efforts would be hampered if benefits they had obtained at considerable sacrifice to their membership were to be extended to the unorganized.

This, however, should not lead to generalizations about the attitude of the Canadian trade union movement toward the enactment of labour standards. The general acceptance of the universal minimum wage, though after initial resistance, and consistent pressure of the unions to bring the minimum wage in line with general wage developments, is only one proof of the value placed by unions on labour standards. In fact, study of the history of such law in Canada shows that the impetus for the introduction and improvements of employment norms has more often than not come about by the continuous demands made upon the federal and provincial governments in the annual briefs of the national and regional labour bodies. And there is a good reason for that. Among the aims of labour standards legislation not the least important is the protection it provides for unionized employers as well as union members against unfair

ompetition by their non-unionized ounterparts.

here are other reasons that gislated labour standards also enefit organized workers. By efinition no collective agreement an be less favourable than the w (except by dispensation in ertain circumscribed instances rough the appropriate Labour elations Boards or their quivalents). This is important, iven the multiplicity of our unions nd the large number of small argaining units, not all of which ave the economic power to chieve by themselves even the inima established by law. econdly, as far as Canada is oncerned, our labour standards aw generally provides only the owest common denominator of dequate employment conditions. his differs from most European ountries, where labour standards aw traditionally corresponds more losely to generally prevailing orking conditions, for example, orking hours, vacation with pay, aid sick leave, etc. For this eason, as well as for reasons of ontrol and enforcement, the ollective agreement will always e preferable to reliance on the aw. Thirdly, there are areas of orking life which by their nature re less well suited to collective argaining, for example, job iscrimination, and health and afety standards.

herefore, two of the intended dditions to the Canada Labour ode, as announced by the federal abour minister, are of utmost mportance. One concerns the uestion of arbitrary or "unfair" ismissals opening up the right of ppeal under the Code. This is bviously intended to protect bove all unorganized workers who ave no access to the grievance rocedure under collective greement. Nevertheless, the rievance procedure too, while common in contracts, is by no means without its hazards and there could be situations where even organized workers could wish and should be able to have access to an appeal's procedure under the Code.

Most welcome is the ministerial announcement in the health and safety area. As the Economic Council of Canada pointed out in its report, *People and Jobs* (1976), much of the responsibility in this area lies with the provinces, but it would be of great value to provide more uniformity in occupational health standards if the federal government were to take the lead by consolidating its occupational health activities. The announcement that the federal government will create a National Occupational Health and Safety Centre and introduce legislated safety and health committees with employee representation is a step forward in meeting the Council's recommendations.

What about the argument that certain aspects of labour standards law may be detrimental to union organizing efforts? International comparison will show that the propensity to unionization depends on many factors — political, social and psychological. Countries with very similar laws and institutions vary a great deal in the degree of unionization. It is virtually impossible to isolate one or the other factor as responsible for or against the spread of unionization and collective bargaining. For example: the system of extension of contract by ministerial decree prevalent in some European countries has at times been regarded as inimical to unionization, at other times as furthering it. In both instances the evidence has always turned out to be inconclusive. Germany and Austria have, on the whole, similar laws and institutions, including the same union structures. Yet in Germany unionization as such is relatively low in relation to the potential, while in Austria it is second only to Sweden. Indeed, Austria is unique in having an institution of elective statutory Chambers of Labour empowered to negotiate for the unorganized. Even this has apparently not hampered the trade union movement from reaching almost its full organizational potential.

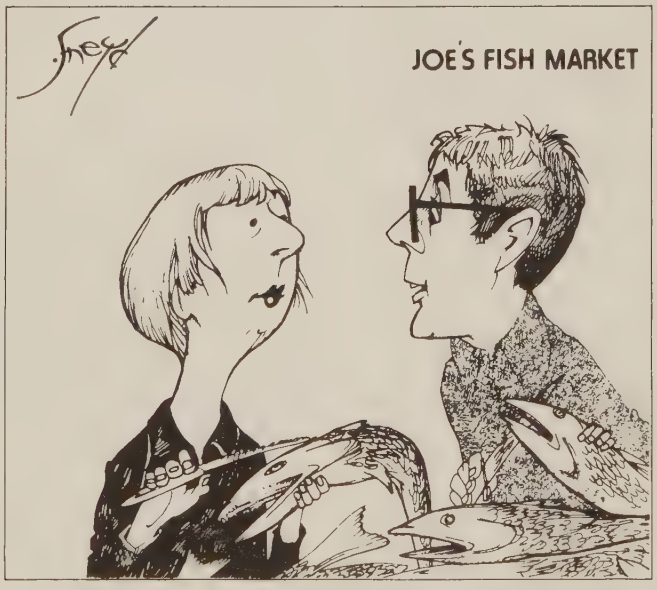
At one time it was conventional wisdom that women were difficult to organize. More recently evidence has accumulated showing that it was not difference in the attitudes of the sexes which was responsible, but the degree of attachment to the labour force. At one time, too, it was an axiom that certain professional groups would never accept unionization. Yet in recent years we have seen these groups change their professional associations into unions or act as unions.

The legal impediments in Canada to unionization and collective agreement coverage, are less likely to be found in the minimum conditions of employment under labour standards law than in that other branch of labour law which deals with the conditions and procedures under which union recognition and collective bargaining takes place. On the whole, the system of the statutory bargaining unit has served well. Undoubtedly, it facilitated the growth of industrial unionism as was intended. However in the three decades since it was accepted as a basic principle in all Canadian jurisdictions, both the structure of Canadian economy and the composition of its labour force have radically changed. The exclusion of certain groups of employees from the bargaining process is no longer warranted. Moreover, the change in the

composition of the labour force, which assumed a more and more heterogeneous character, has led to an increase in the fragmentation of the bargaining process, which is neither conducive to industrial peace nor to the spread of collective bargaining. The procedures for union recognition have become all too legalistic and overly encumbered by case law based on precedents, besides being financially and organizationally burdensome to the unions. It is in this area in which the real impediments to unionization and collective bargaining coverage are to be found. Moreover, the recent announcement by the federal minister of labour of the impending reform of labour standards law should be seen in conjunction with the discussion paper "Agenda for Co-operation" (the so-called "Green Paper") issued recently by the federal government. In this paper, the complementary measures to the reform of federal labour standards law are outlined, namely promotion of broader-based bargaining units to reduce fragmentation and sequential work stoppages; provision for interim certifications and the imposition of first agreements; broadening of the powers of the Canadian Labo Relations Board to enable unions to combine and regroup for the purpose of certification, and improvements in conciliation, mediation and arbitration service

It is true that the jurisdiction of the federal government extends only to a relatively small part of the Canadian labour force. However, it has been the historic experience that whether a provincial government or the federal government pioneers certain changes, they become universally accepted sooner or later. Indeed, some of the indicated changes are already patterned after provincial law and therefore, likely to become universal.

Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that even if all the existing legal impediments to the spread collective bargaining were removed and unionization brough in line with its practical potentia the mere fact of the emergence i recent years of large groups of workers who are more loosely attached to the labour force, will in all likelihood, necessitate a normative approach to working conditions under labour standard law and thus the protection of unionized employers and organized workers alike against exploitative competition for a lon time to come. lg



"When I got my Ph.D. in Marine Science, I didn't realize I'd have so much trouble finding a job."

Federal proposals to improve labour-management relations

The Government's fourteen-point program for a better working environment for Canadians includes several proposals aimed specifically at improving the structure and process of labour-management relations. Labour Minister John Munro described two of them in a June 6 address in Montreal to the annual general meeting of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association — establishment of a collective bargaining information centre, and creation of a national consultative multipartite forum "in which labour can join with business, government, consumers, farmers and other interest groups in helping to solve common problems."

Collective bargaining information centre

About two years ago, I called on the Canadian Labour Congress and the business community, including the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, to choose nine delegates or representatives. They would join with four government representatives to act as a continuing committee for examining employee-employer relations, and advise me as Minister of Labour on the important issues. We called the committee the Canada Labour Relations Council.

At the first meeting, on a motion from one of the labour representatives, the Council identified the need for objective information on compensation and economic trends. It was perceived that existing data was not prepared specifically for collective bargaining, or was suspected of having a pro-labour or pro-management bias. So we set up a subcommittee to study the issue, including the possibility of establishing a national data centre.

At the direction of the subcommittee, my Department conducted a survey of employers and labour organizations. The survey asked questions about the source of bargaining information then being used, the kind of information needed, how often it was required, and how the existing information could be improved.

The subcommittee discovered a wealth of compensation and economic information produced by a variety of government and private sources. The survey also showed that many practitioners in collective bargaining, particularly among trade unions, did not always know what information was available, and sometimes had no access to it, particularly the private compensation data.

What seemed to be needed was a single agency or centre to pull all the data together and make them available and useful to union and company negotiators. The key elements of the data would have to be *accurate, adequate, timely* — and hence, *credible*.

On the recommendation of the subcommittee, the Canada Labour Relations Council reached a unanimous agreement that a collective bargaining information centre should be given priority in any government proposals for improving labour-management relations.

The centre would help develop an open and creative dialogue

Unfortunately, soon after the Council made this recommendation, the CLC withdrew its participation in opposition to the government's wage and price control program. I am confident the withdrawal of the CLC is temporary, and once we move into the decontrol period the labour movement will give this, and other initiatives in Labour Canada's 14-point program, (LG, June, p.251) its active support, and participation where needed. I am also hopeful that the Confederation of National Trade Unions, representing a large sector of Quebec's organized workers, and possibly other trade union groupings, will soon participate in this, and other national centres we are setting up.

The centre we now have in mind, and which has been approved in principle by the Cabinet as well as the labour movement and the business community, would not duplicate existing data collection functions in federal and provincial

departments, or private organizations such as the Conference Board in Canada. Rather it will act as a clearing house from which existing information could be obtained.

The national multipartite forum would not infringe on the role of Parliament

Both labour and management representatives have expressed concern about the independence and credibility of the proposed centre.

To ensure credibility, I propose to set up the centre as a separate departmental agency under a tripartite management board of labour, management and government representatives appointed by order in council.

The centre would respond to requests for information from the parties to collective bargaining, mediators and conciliators, and Labour Canada and provincial officials. Where necessary, it would work with clients to identify information needs and collate data and publish regular reports. The setting of priorities and the program direction would remain the responsibility of the centre's own management board.

Eventually, I would expect that the centre will play an active role in promoting data improvement by identifying gaps in existing information and ways in which information could be made more relevant for collective bargaining.

Provided we can obtain the participation of both labour and management, I anticipate the development work for establishing the centre can be completed this year. Then the centre could be fully operational by early 1978.

I envisage the Collective Bargaining Information Centre as a significant agency for developing an open and creative dialogue among the parties at the national and provincial levels, as well as at the level of the enterprise. It will make a major contribution toward removing the negative adversary elements from the collective bargaining process, and introducing elements of logic and reason.

National multipartite forum

I would like to turn now briefly to the new national multipartite forum we are proposing to set up for a continuing interchange on economic and social issues and policies.

The national forum we have in mind will not infringe on the role of Parliament. Parliament will remain our most important national forum for the development of national policies.

The government's proposals to establish a national forum is in response to the growing public demand for more openness in government. It is also recognition of the need, as perceived by government, for shared responsibility for economic and social problems.

In the past few years, there has been a marked increase in the number of organizations that want to bring their concerns to the attention of the government, and a marked increase in correspondence between individual Canadians and ministers and Members of Parliament. All of th means more consultation.

Such a forum could have a major impact on employee-employer relations

The labour movement has indicated its willingness to move toward a system based on consu tation, rather than confrontation and conflict. I believe that was th message implicit in the CLC's Manifesto adopted at its conven tion in May 1976. One may disagree with some of the specif proposals contained in that docu ment, but I certainly welcome th CLC's avowed willingness to ent into a consultative mechanism fo dealing with national and social issues.

The CMA and the CLC broke new ground a few weeks ago when their representatives made a join presentation to federal ministers on four or five economic issues. anticipate more such joint submi sions from various groups in future.

During the past year, there have also been a number of bilateral meetings between government a the labour movement on the economy and the anti-inflation program; similar bilateral meetin between government and the bus ness community; and more recently, tripartite meetings on th most desirable procedures for entering the decontrol period.

The government believes the tim has now come to take another step forward. The time is right fo proceeding toward the establishment and operation of a multipartite forum. Such a forum coul

make a major impact on employee-employer relations by exposing the concerns of employees and employers to other elements in the community, and by exposing labour and management demands to debate by the rest of the community. I can see the forum bringing a new spirit of communication and realism to employee-employer relations.

The forum would be large enough to provide for representation of the major economic groups, including an appropriate regional balance. Federal ministers would participate, and a federal representative would act as chairman. Participation would be open to representatives and observers from the provincial governments.

Toward a system based on consultation rather than confrontation

The forum would be a consultative body. It would not have decision-making powers or programs, but it would certainly exert influence on the decision-making process of the government and Parliament. The government would continue to take responsibility for its own policies and be accountable to Parliament and the electorate. At the same time, business, labour and other private groups would be free to express their views but remain responsible for their positions and accountable to their own constituents and the public.

I also anticipate that the multi-partite forum will provide a kind of umbrella under which a number of bipartite or tripartite bodies could concentrate on specific problems in fields such as labour affairs, unemployment and regional expansion.

John Munro
Minister, Labour Canada lg

One of the government's hopes in establishing the Collective Bargaining Information Centre is that it will "enhance access" to already established sources of data, according to R.W. Crowley, director-general of Labour Canada's Central Analytical Services. In a May 2 address to the Canadian Association of Administrators of Labour Legislation, Dr. Crowley gave this indication of how the Centre might handle a specific request for assistance:

"The request might come from one or both parties to a collective agreement who are about to begin negotiation; or perhaps from a union's director of research looking for comparative information; or from the personnel manager of a company; or from provincial or federal officials involved in collective bargaining. Centre staff would respond to the request by first working with the client to determine the exact information needed for his purposes. The staff member or members would then find out where the information could be obtained. Again, the source might be a federal department or agency, a provincial agency, a university centre, another private source such as the Conference Board. The Centre's role would then be to put the user in touch with the source, perhaps simply by a referral, or by acting as a 'go-between'. Sometimes, it would be necessary for Centre staff to work with the agency supplying the information to put together the answer to a specific request. Any or all of these methods might be used."

In the long run, Crowley noted, it is hoped that the Centre will also have an active role in promoting data improvement "by identifying gaps in existing information and ways in which existing information could be made more relevant for collective bargaining purposes." lg

Canadian Manufacturers' Association meeting

Shared responsibility for Canada's performance

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association held its 1977 annual meeting in Montreal, June 5-6, just nine days after the Government of Canada released its discussion paper on de-control and post-control issues, *Agenda for Co-operation*. And the 450 participants welcomed the paper's thrust that the government could not solve the country's economic problems by public policy alone but was seeking to create a shared sense of responsibility for the country's economic performance on the part of major sectors of the economy.

In his presidential address, Rodrigue J. Bilodeau, chairman and chief executive officer of Honeywell Limited, noted that five federal cabinet ministers were at the meeting — Labour Minister John Munro, Finance Minister Donald Macdonald, Treasury Board President Robert Andras, Manpower Minister J.S.G. (Bud) Cullen and Jean Chrétien, minister of industry, trade and commerce. "It is a good indication of the government's attitude," Bilodeau said, and it was essential that government and business agree on goals and strategies — an observation appropriate for the meeting's theme "Build industry — build Canada."

But to Bilodeau, current discussions not only with industry but also with labour were at a critical stage. "For, while we have been discussing and consulting and hesitating, our competitors have been gaining bigger shares of our markets; investments have not been made as they should in a young country like ours, and, as a result, not enough jobs have been created for our young people."

Hence, in finding the right "attitudes and policies" a key trade-off had to be kept in mind, he said — "whether or not governments will be pressured into short-term employment gains at the expense of the sustained efficient growth of output, employment and income that can occur only in a non-inflationary environment." He felt that, in general, "the business community can take comfort from the recent federal government papers and also the budget, which appear to indicate a willingness to make the right trade-off."

In his address, Macdonald stressed that the government was concerned that the country secure the gains made against inflation and "inflationary expectations" under the Anti-Inflation Program, and that it would prefer to phase out controls rather than end them abruptly. He also discussed the government's proposal for a consultative forum representing business, labour, agriculture, fishermen, consumers and professionals, and said it would be a means of helping clarify how responsibility should be shared between government and the various interests in Canadian society.

Andras said the federal government has adopted a policy of aligning its own spending with the growth trend of the gross national product. Though its spending restraints had been greeted with skepticism, "many of the skeptic now have become believers." He said also that as the country approached the end of anti-inflation controls, "your responsibilit as leaders in the private sectors takes on a greater significance."

Munro also discussed the nation consultative multipartite forum, as well as the government's proposals for a collective bargaining information centre. He said the information centre would not duplicate existing data-collective functions in federal or provincial departments or in private organizations, but would act as a clearing house from which existing information could be obtained. H also made it clear that the multipartite forum would in no way infringe on the role of Parliament but would be a consultative bod

But Murray Dubinsky, president Administrative Consultants Limited, Calgary, said that consu tation must be accompanied by the ability to deliver, and that a high degree of decentralization o trade union authority had weakened the role of labour "as effective and responsible social and economic partner." The Canadian labour movement spok with a "disjointed and uncoordinated voice that reflected th legislative structures in which it had developed." He called on th federal government to show legislative leadership to the provinces in providing structures within which the parties to collective

bargaining "can more readily seek solutions to their problems." Such legislation should strive to "unify the parties" and in so doing to "rationalize the process."

F.P. Brady, QC, vice-president and general counsel, Dominion Textile Limited, said the challenge of all levels of government was to provide "the legislative and economic environment that would cause every businessman to sit down and confidently mark 'yes' to the majority of investment decisions favouring new plants, expansion or modernizations of facilities in Canada." He listed among elements to be considered in reaching such decisions, wages, fringe benefits, construction costs, markets, energy and raw materials, environmental controls, taxation and the cost of money.

The participants in the meeting were also warned by D.K. McIvor, executive vice-president and director, Imperial Oil Limited, not just to seek scapegoats for their problems, but to accept their share of the blame. "Who signs those wage contracts that make Canadian manufacturing employees among the best paid in the world, and then complains about unfair foreign competition?" he asked. lg

Limited support in Canada for worker participation

Despite the popularity of worker participation in some European countries, the concept has only limited support in Canada. That opinion appeared in all the addresses to a May 30 conference on Employee Participation in the Management of Canadian Enterprises, organized by the Personnel Association of Toronto. Nevertheless, the participants were told by Charles J. Connaghan, vice-president, administrative services, at the University of British Columbia, that worker participation is here to stay and will gain popularity in the future.

Connaghan, who conducted a major study of co-determination in West Germany for the Canada Department of Labour, gave several reasons for his view: Technological change has created uncertainty and unease in the minds of individual workers; the work place has become populated by well educated employees seeking more creative and meaningful work than their parents had, and, finally, the "obvious success" of worker involvement in developing a harmonious labour-management climate in countries such as West Germany "is not being overlooked by governments" in Canada. "It is only a matter of time before worker participation becomes established in Canada," he said.

Management and unions are both "lukewarm" to the concept

Connaghan also presented seven examples of existing employee participation in Canadian work places — Tembec Forest Products, Inc., a pulp mill at Temiscamingue, Que.; La Société Populaire Tricofil Inc., a textile manufacturing mill at St. Jerome, Que.; Les Industries du Saguenay, a metalwork manufacturer; La Presse, a Montreal daily newspaper; Supreme Aluminum Industries of Scarborough and Pickering in Ontario, a manufacturer of cookware, ladders and hydraulic equipment; the Cox group at Stoney Creek, Ontario, a dental equipment manufacturer, and Kootenay Forest Products Ltd., a crown-owned sawmilling and plywood manufacturing plant at Kootenay, B.C.

Despite these examples,

Connaghan found "an obvious lack of enthusiasm" in this country for worker participation. He attributed this to "the unsympathetic attitudes" of employers and the trade union movement. "Some employers see worker participation as leading to an increase in the power of the trade unions over individual companies and the economy as a whole," he said.

"A strong union with the necessary resources to challenge the company's figures and statements is absolutely essential to any hope of success"

And unions feel threatened "because they believe it could undermine their primary function, which is to defend the rights of workers and to ensure that all the well-being of union members is enhanced."

David Archer, former president of the Ontario Federation of Labour, agreed that union response is "somewhat unenthusiastic," and said it will be a long time before "we have Germany's co-determination in the Canadian work place." He found management response also "lukewarm", and said there had been no significant shift in attitudes despite nudging from the Canada Department of Labour. "The adversary system goes its merry way and is acceptable to both sides," Archer commented.

He said, however, that he believed "consultation at the work place" could reduce industrial conflicts: "Unionists would be engaged in day-to-day decision-making and problem-solving at various levels. The companies' difficulties would be well-known and employees would be invited to share them."

But this kind of consultation could be effective only with union representatives: "A strong union with the necessary resources to challenge the company's figures and statements is absolutely essential to any hope of success."

Thomas E. Armstrong, Ontario's deputy minister of labour, said co-determination experiments are under way in several Ontario companies but on a "low-key" basis. "Management and worker representatives don't want the situation to become known until they have proved they can make some progress," he noted.

Lloyd Hemsworth, vice-president, personnel and industrial relations, The de Havilland Aircraft of Canada Ltd., said Canadian interest in European co-determination and works councils "is a manifestation of the desperate need to find a way to conduct our industrial relations affairs without the economic loss caused by industrial conflict." However, "while employee participation in the affairs of our enterprises is desperately needed, neither business nor trade unions need any new or different institutions such as works councils to channel, foster, monitor or control" this participation. To Hemsworth, the existing institutions — unions and the management hierarchy — "are quite capable and possess the essential structures to involve employees fully and to enable them to participate in a realistic way in corporate and union decisions." The essential basis was two-way communication, and the best means by far for achieving this was in "face-to-face" meetings: "Without rejecting other means completely, it is in face-to-face meetings that we should be concentrating our efforts." Hemsworth was strongly opposed to government intervention to bring about employee participation: "When participation and involvement by employees and union members in the affairs of the companies and unions have replaced participation and intervention by the state, we will have achieved a form of industrial self-government more likely to put us on the highway to industrial peace. Currently we are on the road to nowhere."

Worker participation is here to stay and will gain popularity in the future

William A.M. Birt, general manager for employee relations, Shell Canada, said he found it difficult to understand "why this concept of participation still survives in Canada when, with few exceptions, labour and business leaders seem to want no part of it." In the past fifty years, he observed, "various doctrines of participation, social responsibility, individual development and motivation" were being "woven into the fabric of management functions and skills in North America." But large-scale institutionalization of these practices by statutory imposition would be a "negative and counter-productive intervention."

Birt proposed a "radical change" in the collective bargaining system. There should be some form of centralization "in the resolution of economic issues." With this, the energies of local unions, "no longer required for bargaining major economic factors," could be directed to quality-of-working-life issues. He said this would require enabling legislation. But that legislation should neither specify nor impose these issues: "These must, in concept, be left to the parties."

CLRB ruling paves the way for unionization of bank employees

by John Clarke

In a ruling of historic precedence, the Canada Labour Relations Board has decided that individual bank branches are appropriate units for collective bargaining under the Canada Labour Code. In doing so, it rejected the argument that banks, because of their special status as national institutions in the world of finance, should be subject to unionization only on a national basis.

The ruling was made on an application by a new union, the Service, Office and Retail Workers' Union of Canada, for certification in seven B.C. branches of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce. The CLRB has not yet granted the union certification — it must still decide whether SORWUC actually has the support of the workers in those branches. It has, however, granted certification to another new union, The Canadian Union of Bank Employees, as bargaining agent for a branch of Canada Trust and Mortgage Company, in Simcoe, Ontario.

The decision to accept applications on a branch-by-branch basis is of enormous importance to the unionization of a number of white-collar fields that up to now have been immune to the labour movement. The precedent will clearly apply to workers in insurance corporations, credit unions as well as all the banks, trust companies and other financial institutions. It may open the way in new fields such as data processing.

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What it means is that a union, whether SORWUC or CUBE, or some other, will be able to organize in all these types of national operations on an office-by-office, branch-by-branch or unit-by-unit basis. It means the union will be able to negotiate a contract at the lowest level of the organization and then apply that contract as a pattern throughout the institution in the units where it is certified.

No doubt the union hopes will be that once it has established an attractive pattern settlement, it will be easier to encourage other branches, offices or units to join the union, simply by waving it before their eyes.

The CLRB ruling does clearly encourage piecemeal unionization, which was what the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce feared most in its arguments at the hearings.

The bank argued for a single bargaining unit based on the Commerce's 34,000 employees in 1,693 branches, data centres, regional and head offices. It claimed this was the only way to maintain administrative efficiency, convenience in bargaining, lateral mobility for employees and common employment practices.

Bigger unions are expected to come into the picture

The bank said branch certification would create "utter chaos", which would be contrary to the public interest. The banking industry, it argued, was the "fiscal fibre" of the country and branch unionization would affect the property rights of all Canadians because it might interfere with "their right to deposit and withdraw money and would disrupt the mechanism our society relies upon for the money necessary to sustain all elements of society."

The CLRB characterized these arguments this way: "The role of the banking industry and its high degree of government regulation is said to be such that the industry should be viewed as a monopoly sanctioned by government with each bank as a quasi-public institution."

In a nutshell, the bank feared that fragmented bargaining structures would undermine the national basis on which banking has been built and interfere with uniformity in practice and working conditions.

But the CLRB said the preamble to Part V of the Labour Code expressly encourages "free collective bargaining" as the best means of developing good industrial rela-

tions in Canada. The board goes on: "This legislative intent can best be achieved by facilitating collective bargaining for employees who choose this procedure for settling their terms and conditions of employment.

"That can be accomplished by this board accepting or fashioning bargaining units that give employees a realistic possibility of exercising their rights under the Code. Too large units in unorganized industries will abort any possibility of collective bargaining ever commencing and defeat this express intention of Parliament...

The CLRB has rejected the bank's argument that unionization should be on a country-wide basis

"The practical reality of the employer's proposed bargaining unit (of 34,000 employees) is that only an organization or movement with the enormous financial resources to operate nation-wide, in a concerted effort, for a long period of time, could make the rights of the Code meaningful for Commerce employees. This in itself is a restriction of the freedom of employees to 'join the trade union of his choice' (Section 110-1 of the Code).

"The history of union activity is that unions begin or are based in a particular locale. To organize on a national basis a union of bank employees would have to start to solicit members in one area and then move outward to other areas. By the time it had encompassed the expansive territorial boundaries of Canada, the employees in the primary locales would have become disillusioned and perhaps lost interest in any expectation of achieving collective bargaining.

"Because of the turnover of employees at the Commerce and in the industry, a union seeking to act as a vehicle for bargaining would be on a constant treadmill of soliciting new employees and, at the same time, maintaining the support of members while expanding to new areas."

The CLRB said union certification at the branch level should not work against administrative convenience and lateral mobility of employees, which the Commerce used as arguments against branch unionization. As for commonality of terms and conditions of employment, the board said they don't entirely exist now. There are varying pay ranges and "assorted benefit packages" to accommodate individual preferences.

Certification at the branch level should not therefore be prohibited on the ground that it would create conditions which the banking industry wants to avoid, because those conditions already exist.

SORWUC's success has been a stunning surprise even for the labour movement itself. Earlier attempts to organize the banks in B.C. and elsewhere were such dismal failures that larger, older and better financed trade unions have been discouraged from further effort.

But SORWUC was formed primarily by a nucleus of young women dissatisfied with their conditions in the banks. They were not well financed or indeed notably supported by the rest of the labour movement. That will now change because the labour movement sees the CLRB decision as an opening not only for the financial institutions but for the entire white-collar field.

Organizing will be considerably easier and the bigger unions wi

The ruling encourages the piecemeal organizing that th banks have feared

be more prepared to spend mor on it because there will be a bigger chance of seeing a retur for their investment. If they can crack remaining white-collar res tance to unionism, they will see great new opportunities in the whole service industry field.

The bank industry's fear of frag mented bargaining, with one branch outdoing another in pur of wages and conditions, seem much overstated. What is likely happen is that once collective bargaining has become estab lished, the branches will co-ordinate their negotiations on a district or even a regional basis with the objective of setting uniform conditions.

There's ample precedent for thi among other unions. In B.C., fo instance, the legally designated bargaining units for the Inter national Woodworkers of Ameri are the local unions. But those locals voluntarily work together through the IWA Regional Cour to bargain a master contract in which local issues are later acc modated.

Obviously, that or something lik it would be the most rational approach for the bank branch units. Far from fragmenting the industry, it would be more likel create more uniformity in worki conditions than currently exist the banks. lg

Eric Trist on the quality of working life

Eric Trist, one of the world's foremost authorities on the quality-of-working-life (QWL) concept, is advising the Canada Department of Labour on implementing its QWL program, one of its 14 initiatives toward a better work environment for Canadians. Trist is professor of social systems sciences at The Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, and chairman of its Management and Behavioural Science Center. He was a founding member and later chairman of the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations in London, where he spent 20 years, and for which he still edits a professional journal. In this interview with The Labour Gazette, *he describes techniques for improving the quality of working life and discusses their possibilities for Canadian society.*

Canadians are hearing a new vocabulary in industrial relations — words like industrial democracy, co-determination, workers' councils and now this new one, quality of working life. Perhaps you could start by telling us where quality of working life fits in.

There are three aspects of industrial democracy. The one that emerged first historically I call "interest group" democracy. That simply means collective bargaining. It is a form of participation because in a civilized system of industrial relations both parties share power. They don't get all their own way. They reach agreements. In Canada, as in some other Western countries, you have a very strong tradition of collective bargaining, of interest group democracy.

The next form of industrial democracy which emerged I call "representative" democracy, where workers participate in decisions, not at the level of their own work but at a higher level — on a works council, on a committee, or on a board. As you know, that is called co-determination in Germany.

The third aspect I call shop-floor or "work-linked" democracy, because it is linked to the direct happenings in the work place — how I do my job, how you do yours, how we interact, what amount of say you have in what you do.

It usually involves a group rather than a single individual because even if the worker is doing something that is very much his own thing he is linked to others who are interdependent. So we think of the group as a building block, and the more control the group has over its own operations the better it does its job. It is self-regulating and quasi-autonomous and hence it needs less external control, less close supervision, less fuss from specialists coming in as it enlarges its territory and learns. It doesn't start as a fully-fledged autonomous work group. It builds a path in interaction with management and other people as it expands. There are very few groups that have gone as far as they might. But that's the kind of thing we mean by work-linked democracy — redesigning work, redesigning the relationships with supervision and management, finding new roles, with supervisors as helpers, trainers, philosophers, friends, guides. They manage the boundary conditions of the group, of the work task, rather than trouble shoot right inside.

Do you think these types of democracy are complementary?

The quality-of-working-life concept has been linked to direct participation, to action at the worker's own level. But I would say that it depends on all three aspects and they can be present together or they may be separate.

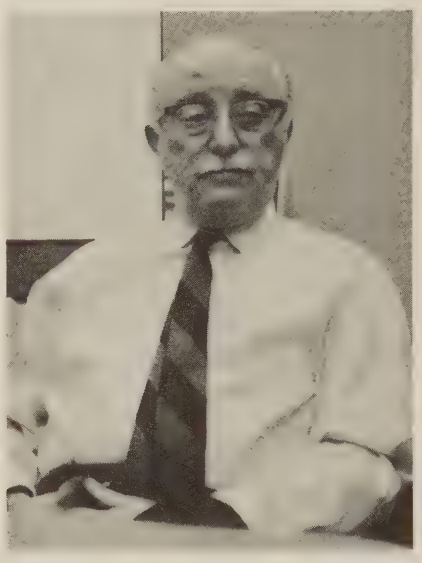
In different countries there is a very different emphasis on these things. In some they go well together; in other places they interfere with each other. You'll find all three forms of industrial democracy working well together in Norway and Sweden, for example. Some union people feel that if they go in with management and take responsibility for the enterprise they are going to lose the independent role, the capability to take the adversary position. Therefore they will stay away from that.

Even though they may be willing to participate in direct changes in the work place, sometimes unions will say: "Just stick with the collective bargaining and the contract; everything else is not on with us." And you'll hear management insist: "Well we're not doing this because we'll have to start surrendering prerogatives. We

don't mind bargaining across the table because we know what we are to each other. But if you start asking us to let you do some of the things that we're used to doing, then we're surrendering power, and we're not going to do it. It's a management prerogative."

The irony seems to be that some forms of democracy are imposed on the workforce by fiat rather than through consultation. Doesn't this seem to be a contradiction in terms?

You certainly get into some real trouble if you introduce direct participation or work-linked democracy by fiat. Just the other day we completed a survey of all the experiments done in a very large American corporation. There have been 60 or 70 of them. We visited one location where, when they started this, they had three or four of these schemes going. They went rather well and then management asked for volunteers for the next group, not only from workers but from supervisors. The unions were a bit squeamish and the foremen were worried about their role identity; they weren't sure what they were going to be. There were no volunteers. But the results had been rather good and in this particular location the plant was having difficulty remaining profitable, so management decided "we are going to it." About ten more work groups were laid on. "You be a work group; you, foreman, you go and do it. We'll give you some training and help you on your way." Well, it worked out for a while, but with layoffs and bumping as the recession came it wasn't so easy to keep them going. We interviewed some of those who were still there three or four years later and we found great bitterness and resentment — both among the workers who had been told to join a work group, and among the foremen who had been told to behave in this new way.



Advances in technology have made this approach necessary

So there is an example of the kind of aftermath if you do it by fiat, for as you correctly said, it's a contradiction in terms. You can't do this kind of thing unless you get people to understand, unless they believe in it and they think it's going to be a fair deal and they're not going to be exploited.

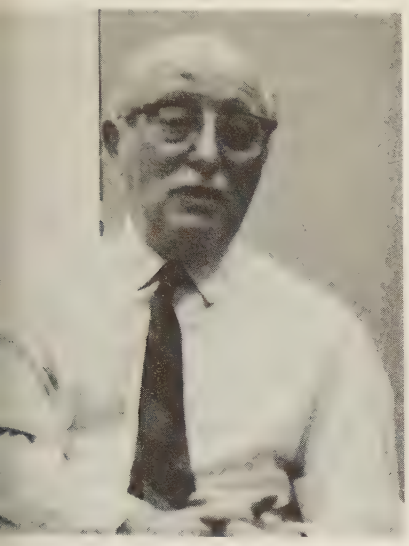
Could you tell us something about the changes in society that have stimulated interest in shop-floor democracy?

Well it's very largely a result of advances in technology, especially in the science-based industries where there has been so much change in the direction of sophisticated continuous-production plants, and where there is no heavy manual work. You are not there for your manual dexterity. You are, in fact, managing a system with others who depend on you and on whom you can depend. You are monitoring equipment. You are looking at dials. You are adjusting things when they start go from a steady state into disturbed conditions. You see th in a refinery, in any chemical pla in a lot of plants where you have computer controlled machines. T keep complex technological systems in steady state you have to be involved and committed tc use perceptual and conceptual skills.

A lot of the work is anticipation error. In older technologies you could correct error after the ever You could have external controls The foreman could come around and give you hell because you hadn't done this or that. In a modern advanced-technology plant, you may have lost a millio dollars by that time.

In these circumstances, it is necessary that people become more self-regulating, more responsible. They have to have a complete understanding of the system they are working in, not just their own bit. They stand in for each other. To achieve that, you need a self-regulating work group that has a lot of power of decision, to tackle problems before rather than after the even

When we come to technologies that are less sophisticated — assembly technologies, batch production and that kind of thing — we have found there that with the old methods of work organiz tion — Frederick Taylor's way, breaking everything down into little bits — people get very bore Persons entering the workforce now have more years of schoolin than their parents or grandparen For example, in the U.S. before World War I when the big immigrant waves were coming over, t average was three years schoolin A lot of immigrants were semi-illiterate and prepared to do



Whether it succeeds depends on the values of Canadian society

anything to become Americans, to make their way. In the second and third generation this is all over. People are not willing to do boring jobs. Canadians are not willing to do that.

In Europe, of course, we have had foreign migrant workers to come in and do that, people from the south of Europe, North Africa, and so on. And in Europe even the docile foreign workers who would do anything eventually got bored. They got disturbed. They were in foreign countries. They formed, as it were, ghetto-like communities that generated social problems. There was a lot of absenteeism.

In Sweden, for example, this was what started Volvo off. The Swedes would not do this stuff. If they were asked to, they would go absent. They got the foreign workers in but that wasn't a solution either. So the president of Volvo got all his people together. "What are we to do?" he asked. "I want answers. We must have less absenteeism, less turnover, less rework. We cannot afford it. We can't afford the mistakes that are built into our motor cars. We are getting a bad name."

Japan set up quality control service in the early 1960s. When their industry changed they had to have high quality and sophisticated products for the world market. They didn't have a workforce that could do all that yet. The education level wasn't all that high. They'd done relatively simple things. They got scientists and engineers involved and they started improving skills in problem solving, in quality control, in industrial engineering involving groups of workers and their foremen. A few of these groups arose spontaneously in the early 1960s. There are now 800,000 of them involving eight million workers. That's the extent of the movement that has grown to meet the national need.

Your explanation runs in terms of the need to motivate the workforce to meet the needs of modern technology, attempts by management to motivate workers by making their work environment more enjoyable in order to overcome problems such as absenteeism. Isn't this primary emphasis on the needs of management and of technology rather one-sided?

These things in these countries were seen as national problems, as national needs. When we were doing our Norwegian industrial democracy project in the 1960s one of the things we did was take people from the U.K. We were doing a very big project in Shell refineries from the mid-60s onwards. We took not only some of the Shell shop stewards over there but one or two of the district officers from the Transport and General Workers Union. They asked Norwegian trade unionists, "What are you doing this for?" One of them answered: "For the future of Norway. We are a small country. My contribution is important. We have got to make this industry better or it isn't going to be here." So it's not just management or a parochial interest. Everybody senses an overriding purpose.

But this is not always so. If it just appears as something that management wants, then you are going to have an angry or cynical reaction from the workforce. The quality-of-working-life philosophy values the dignity of work and people at work for its own sake. It says: "We want you to be human. You are human. We don't want you to be treated like a machine."

The industrial system as it was organized and grew up with Frederick Taylor, treats a man as a machine part. He's easily replaceable. The kind of thing I've been talking about emphasizes that people are not machines. They're in a complementary relation to machines. We don't do very well what machines do. Look at a computer. We can't match it in recall or calculating speed or things like that. But if it comes to judgement and intuition, no computer can do it.

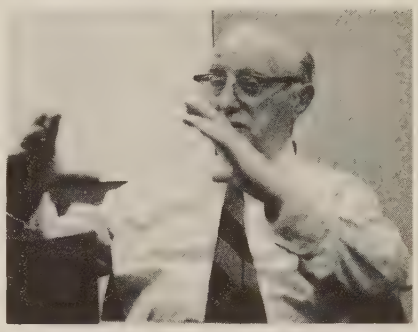
So we want men to do the things that machines can't do. That's why I emphasized these advanced technologies, because there you have all the sophisticated machine controls, computer controls you want. You've generated another set of tasks for men. And having realized that, we say, why not treat all work that way so that the work is humanized; that is, it's work fit for men to do. Let's not mechanize it, or organize it some other way. Or if it has to be very dull and dreary, don't let one lot of workers spend their whole lives doing it. We have a choice.

How do you feel about the prospects of this concept developing in Canada?

That means first of all making some kind of an assessment of the basic values in Canadian society and of you asking yourselves what kind of a society you want Canada to become. A few years ago I was in Ottawa with a group of people on a task force for the Privy Council Secretariat. Their job was to come up with some proposals on social policy. We were in a seminar — three or four days' brainstorming and group think — and we very soon found out that we couldn't discuss that problem unless we went into the question of what kind of society Canadians want Canada to be, because policies were only going to be instruments of something.

Well I would say that in industrial life, in the life of all employment organizations — because it involves the public sector as well — you have a choice of going on with the type of work organization that you have inherited — one man, one job, top down, everybody in place, obeying and constrained. Or you can say we don't want the majority of Canadians to spend most of their working lives in jobs like that because it's going to have negative effects on them otherwise. It's going to make them passive. It's going to make them rather unwilling to participate in community affairs, in the wider society.

Because we've got the technology. We know how to do it. There's no problem there. If we take the world of work in another direction, then we will be encouraging people to become active, to use their judgement, to go in for their own personal growth in the work place and not simply in their leisure time. And that will spill over into the rest of their lives. So the question is what sort of society do you want Canada to become? What sort of people do you want Canadians to be?



No computer can match human beings in judgment and intuition

If you answer the questions in one direction, you will start going for the kind of transformation of the work place that we've been discussing today. But if you want a regimented society, if you want to stay that way, if you want to go the George Orwell Road of 1984, you won't go this way.

And workers themselves are going to tell you this because they are beginning to know that there are options. And the alienation problem, the higher absenteeism, the low productivity, being present physically but really absent mentally, and not caring — all that kind of thing is already around in your society, as well as in other Western societies.

As an outsider I have this hope for Canada — that there are a lot of fairly deep values in Canadian society not only about democracy in the formal constitutional sense. You prefer to be rather egalitarian. You like people to be "with it" and active. On the other hand you don't make a religion of competition and gamesmanship. You don't believe that unless you're winning against the other fellow you're n a Canadian.

I don't find so much of that here as in some other places, includir the United States, which has strong values of competitive indi dualism. And maybe these have served them very well. But now they may have to look at values collaboration and co-operation a interdependence more than they have done. I think a lot of learnir is going on about that in the U.S in the 10 years I've been there.

But in Canada I've felt a greater preparedness to re-examine the kind of society Canadians want, though it's not consciously relat to what is going on in the work place.

How do you feel about the arguments being put forward in Cana that many people have achieved high degree of affluence but hav found it hasn't brought them the sort of benefits they were hopin for, and they have therefore decided that if they can't find fulfilment by spending the mone they've earned in the work place they're going to reorient themselves toward improving the wo environment?

I think that this is happening in varying degrees in all industrial countries. But this movement is only just beginning. We've all be brought up to believe that we m work and that work is the lesser two evils; that it's a place of "un pleasure". It's not a place where you fulfill yourself. It's dreary ar grim and all that kind of thing. It like medicine: the worse it taste the better it is for you. We've als been brought up with the fear o unemployment. In my generation it's very deep. And I think even i this generation unemployment is ghost, and we've had a recent recession.

n the other hand, your country — ke most western societies has stablished social rights. You on't let people starve; you won't t them fall below a certain point. ow that there are welfare ystems, and fairly good pay for hat people do, they are open to ther possibilities. Just going on aving more money to spend in ie consumer society only negates self in the end, and a lot of eople are saying: "Well I wish I ould use my talents, I wish I ould use *me*. Just going to the elevision box or to mass sports nd then going to a dreary job, I'm ot getting much out of life." And hat I have found is that if people re given a chance to get some- ning out of life at their work most f them get turned on — not all of iem. The ordinary guy prefers to o something interesting, in which iere's a bit of *him*, that's *eveloping* him.

low do you see, then, overcoming ie resistance which is quite trong, of union leaders and anagement in Canada? The onsensus seems to be that ollective bargaining and onfrontation is our way

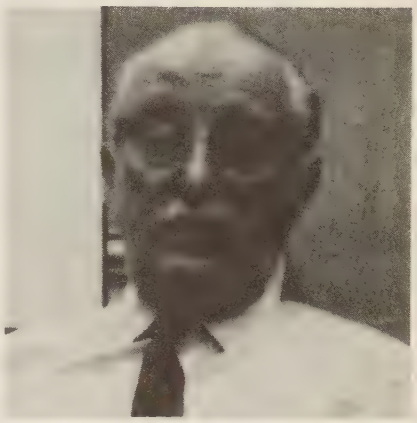
hat's partly historical. Unions ave evolved to defend themselves gainst employers perceived as redators, and in the past mployers have behaved that way – squeezing the last thing out of vorkers, resisting every demand. So union leaders have to preserve he tradition of their unions; hey're the guardians of everything hat's been won over many ecades — union recognition, a ecent wage, a contract that rought in some benefits, the otion of pensions.

One of the first concerns of nions has always been job ecurity for their members. It still s, and the danger is that if you go and talk quality of working life to them, and they find that these sort of newfangled experiments mean fewer jobs for them, then they're going to pull you up sharp. They are also going to pull you up sharp if you try to interfere with their rules of seniority. It is the only way they know to ensure fairness. Otherwise you get blue-eyed favourite children of management. Unions will not allow the privileges that they've won to be undermined. And any management or government dealing with unions has to appreciate that and see how they can get new and more things done, yet still reconcile them with the union's views.

Now many union leaders are going to be stubborn; many of them are going to be cynical. But a few of them will see opportunities for the future. Some union leaders are worried about their younger members — the generations that didn't come through the Depression, who haven't experienced hard times as much as their leaders have. The younger workers are restive. And unions have got to think: "Who is going to join us? If we don't get in on the thing, if management starts all the initiatives, the workers are going to say management is now giving us the fulfilling things." Some of the quite eminent trade union leaders that I see from time to time are very well aware of this; others are not.

Union leaders can look into the future too; they can be strategic. They're political people. They have to think on five wavelengths and ten levels at once. Some of them are forward looking; some of them aren't; they're no different from management in that respect. They want to retain power. They are human with the badness of humans as well as the goodness.

If you go on to management it's the same. They've been used to ruling the roost on their own terms. And a lot of them don't want to give it up. Some of them will not give it up. And when it comes to the crunch, when they begin to find out that quality of working life is not a fantasy, nor motherhood for industry, but something that means their surrendering certain prerogatives, then they will pull themselves out.



The more control the group has, the better it does its job

But is it really possible to change technology in such a way that workers will find the kind of self-fulfilment you are talking about?

Yes, we know from our experience that technology can be changed. We have learned in the quality-of-working-life enterprise not to accept the technological imperative. We don't take as Gospel what design engineers in the back room have done. I've had a lot to do with designing and redesigning plants. The engineers design it over here. Then you bring it in to the factory, the living factory, and the operating people come on and they just start throwing up their hands because the engineers have got a

lot of things wrong; they haven't consulted the users, the operational management, let alone the workers, who know all kinds of things.

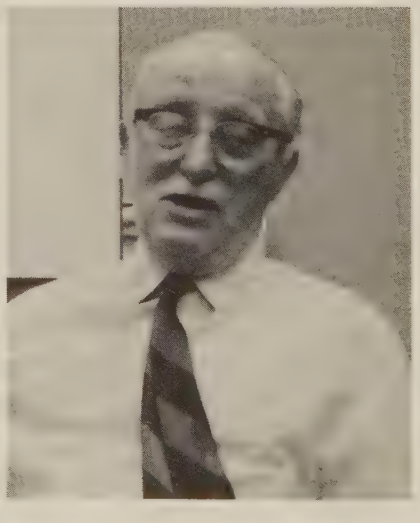
I was present at a design party out in California a year or two ago. It was the eighth plant of a long series of plants that a corporation had built. Who did we have there? We had one or two of the people who had designed the first one and worked in it, with their wisdom. We had some of the people, both workforce and management, who were running the latest one they'd designed. We had the design engineers, industrial engineers, and some union people. They included in designing the organization of the work, what they had learned and what they might do. They were designing not only production technology, but also an environmental technology, and an energy reduction technology. They had to do all these things and they were all in it. But at the moment, that sort of thing is taking place only in rare instances. One of my hopes is that it will take place more frequently.

There are two distinct systems, machines and men. And you've got to match them and marry them. The technological people cannot rule the roost completely. On the other hand, you can't have a human relations crowd ruling the roost either. They are trying to make people happy without touching the work organization. That's my great complaint against the human relations movement. It never did anything about redesigning work.

In Britain, when I first went down a coal mine, in the early 1950s, I went down because I was supposed to be a human relations person. There was a lot of industry being nationalized. The "bad" owners had gone.

Working conditions and pay were better. But there were more strikes than ever; more absenteeism than ever; productivity wasn't going up. People were leaving the pits. When you went down a coal mine you saw all these bad relations being generated by the way work was organized at the coal face. Unless you could change that, you were not going to get very far.

Then we discovered that some of the workers in some coal mines had found a way of doing this, their own traditions, with everybody learning all the jobs. The individual jobs are not that difficult. It's the interdependencies that matter. What is difficult in a coal mine is just keeping alive.



It's getting harder to find people who will do dull jobs

What role do you see the national quality-of-working-life centre playing in all of this?

There are all kinds of things going on here, even if the volume isn't yet great. Some of the quality-of-working-life projects going on in Canada — in several firms and in the provincial and federal governments — are among the most advanced in the world. Naturally you also look at what's going on other countries. I have been greatly struck by the understanding of the people I have been working with in Labour Canada. They know they've got to create the enabling conditions to nourish projects, people, feelings, concepts, to get debate going — to find opportunities and develop the conditions whereby organizations and individuals all over Canada can go this way knowing that they've got the active blessing of the federal government through the department primarily concerned, though in association with other departments. It's not up to Labour Canada to do it all by itself.

It's a matter of leadership, not of invading the territory of provincial jurisdiction, but of giving leadership and support, trying to build a network. A network is a very different thing from an empire. Labour Canada, as I understand it, is quite clear that they want to help encourage networks of organizations and people in the provinces, in professional associations, in universities, among managements, in unions, to try to develop this with others in Canada.

We don't know how it's going to turn out, what path it's going to take. It will be a Canadian path, with all the difference and variety of this huge country — the different conditions in the Maritimes and in Ontario and the special conditions in Quebec and B.C. They'll have to find their own ways. And I think Labour Canada knows very well that this kind of work has to be done locally. The thing is to discover people who want to do it and then to help equip them to do it.

You can't set up a great big Department of Quality of Work

Life here in Ottawa or Toronto — sending people all over the place. You've got to find people on the spot and help them to interact with each other. People learn from each other, you know. They don't come to people like me. If they hear something is happening down the road they want to see it for themselves. Labour Canada wants to encourage the development of a learning process. Labour Canada has to find its proper role; it doesn't entirely know it yet. It's just making a start. And certainly it does not want to create Quality of Working Life as a bureaucratic department inside Labour Canada, but to set it up outside and get other people involved.

The staff of Labour Canada has been all around Europe and the United States looking at the various ways this has been attempted at national level. There has been one way in the U.K., another in Sweden, a different way in Germany and the United States. They've been trying to compare national experiences of the best way to involve a department of the national government with the support of other departments. We know that we will have to find a Canadian way that is not exactly like anybody else's.

We're just now at the point of going from the initial preparations, as it were, into the beginnings of action of building. And everybody's keeping an open mind. We are going to make mistakes. We hope for tolerance of those mistakes.

Is it the intention to pursue just this one aspect of worker participation or is it to go hand-in-hand with other efforts to transform the working environment of Canadians?

Well it is our intention to build a quality-of-working-life endeavour in Canada and the aim is to improve the quality of life in the workplace, with people having a bigger piece of the action, more of a say in their own work, contributing more, and so producing more. The officials I have talked with don't want a lot of alienated workers. They want satisfied people in Canada for the sake of this society. This is one way to do it. And they know that Canada also has to have more productivity. So that they see these two things as married. You can't get it by the carrot and stick, coercing and pulling. You can get it by the quality-of-working-life route. This is probably the best way to provide the enabling conditions for productivity.

But that is only one aspect. The federal department has 14 initiatives — those are all going to go on. And the preservation and further development of the collective bargaining system is going to go on. It's not instead of; it's as well as.

Are you not disturbed by the sort of bandwagon effect that these things have, and the sort of optimism this generates about quality of working life as the ultimate solution to industrial conflict?

This is a very serious problem everywhere this has been tried, the panacea, the magic. Expectations are raised and then there is disappointment. Every project I have been concerned with myself has raised expectations and then we've had disappointments. Good things have been done; bad consequences, which we didn't foresee, have happened. There is no magic. There is no panacea.

You will never have a problem-free organization any more than a problem-free person. The agenda changes but a learning process takes place and one gets on to more advanced issues. I think anybody associated with this enterprise has a great responsibility to realize that there is little in the way of magical solutions. It will help people endure the difficulties, the frustrations, the disappointments they are going to run into.

A lot of the famous quality-of-working-life projects got off to a fine start. They've lasted a year or two and then they've gradually petered out. I can show you places after five years where you can't see a ripple. It's as if nothing had ever been there. That's because they've all started in small systems and unless they affect the larger one they're going to be overwhelmed by the larger system. Sustaining innovation is a greater problem than starting innovation. Unless people learn, all of them, and stick at it, then you won't get good results. This is a long-range undertaking. It has to do with deep changes in society.

Do you think there's sufficient realization of that in Canada?

I don't know the scene in Canada well enough to comment directly on that. I would be surprised if there were enough realization, else you would be so much superior to all other countries in this respect that you might not belong on this planet. lg

Quality of working life: the Air Canada experience

Early in 1974 Air Canada initiated two pilot projects in job enrichment/worker participation in its maintenance base in Dorval, Quebec. These two projects involved approximately 30 mechanics from the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers in two separate and distinct work locations. After one year, the results of the two projects were rigorously evaluated to determine what impact they had had, if any, on productivity, costs, teamwork and job satisfaction. One project was considered by all concerned — management, union and mechanics — to be highly successful; the other less so.

On the basis of these experiments, the company decided to continue with several more pilot projects in 1975, all of which were relatively successful in terms of their specific objectives and the results obtained. More importantly perhaps was the experience gained in designing, launching, and managing programs of this nature, particularly in terms of their implications for the role of the supervisor and the shop steward, management style, the organization structure and personnel policies, and a host of other factors that influence the behavior of people in the work place.

On the basis of these experiences, plus a major undertaking at the Dorval Airport, in which project teams involving management and contract employees planned and implemented major changes in that operation, the company felt it was now in a position to undertake a much more comprehensive program, which would involve several hundred people. In consultation with the executive of the Canadian Airline Employees Association, such an undertaking was launched in 1976 in the Toronto reservations office. This program was subsequently parodoxically labelled "WIP" (Work Improvement) Program — pronounced "WHIP") by the employees. It has been guided since its inception by a steering committee consisting of both senior management and union executive. The results of the program are now being subjected to an extensive evaluation to determine where things have gone right, where things have gone wrong and also to determine its impact on measures of customer service, organizational effectiveness, and employee/union/management relations.

The union has been directly involved in the design of the evaluation process which is being carried out by an objective outsider attached to a major university and who is an expert in this field.

All of the experiments were relatively successful

The program, which has consumed many hundreds of man-days to date on the part of management, the union and passenger agents, has resulted in changes and modifications to systems and processes, personnel policies, the organization structure and to the role and jobs of the supervisors and passenger agents.

- There is no master plan or serie of mechanical steps to be followed. Each project will take on i own shape and impetus in relatio to its own reality: the nature of th work being done, the technology being used, the quality of its management, the existing labour relations climate, the desire and motivation to change.

- The union has a vital role to pla in encouraging, supporting and directly participating in such endeavors.

- The possibilities of not only improving an organization's effec tiveness, but of enhancing the quality of work life and job satisfaction of its members — at all levels — is enormous but it requires the full co-operation of all, hard work, supreme patience and the courage to fail. In any given project many problems will arise some of which can be anticipated, some of which will be a surprise, some of which will have far-reaching implications.

- Air Canada still has many problems to address and resolve. Problems of how to sustain success where and when it occur problems of diffusing and involving greater numbers of its workforce, problems of handling unrealistic expectations, problem of transforming isolated projects into a way of life.

At this point in its history Air Canada intends to carry on with i efforts as long as they continue t

get satisfactory results and enjoy the support of management, unions and employees. Air Canada is learning as it goes along; the jury is still out; the trial goes on.

Having further learned a great deal of what is entailed in designing and implementing programs which will more directly and fully involve employees in the decision-making process and in the management of work, the company has more recently embarked on four more projects in conjunction with the IAM in its Winnipeg Accounting office. These projects involve a total of 60 clerical employees and could eventually involve upwards of 600 people in that location. Other projects are currently being initiated in two other divisions of the company.

In summary then, Air Canada has over the past three years undertaken a number of experimental projects with approximately 600 non-management personnel and with the full backing and support of the unions. Each project has been carefully designed and its impact measured and fed back to all participating parties. Each project has led to considerable learning for all involved and each subsequent undertaking has been built and has evolved from the experience gained in previous projects.

'What appears simple in concept can be very complex in execution'

What has Air Canada learned from these experiments? Carl Johnston of organization development, who has been researching QWL projects in Air Canada, states:

- What appears simple in concept can become extremely complex in execution and highly demanding of time, energy, skill and imagination.

- Before undertaking any such program considerable time must be spent in discussion to ensure that everyone involved has the opportunity to influence the objectives to be pursued and the approach to be followed. Ownership of both on the part of local management, local unions and local employees is imperative. lg

Labour Legislation in Canada — 1976

Part 5: Workers' Compensation

by Michel Gauvin

In 1976, Alberta, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island passed acts to amend their workers' compensation legislation. Amendments were also made in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, the Yukon Territory and the federal jurisdiction.

Coverage

In **Manitoba,** an Act to Amend the Workers' Compensation Act has extended coverage to members of municipal or community voluntary ambulance services. Farm labourers will also be brought under coverage when the appropriate provisions of the Act are proclaimed into force. The agricultural industry will include general farming, dairy farming, stock farms, feed lots, production of beets, potatoes or special crops, custom harvesting, poultry farming, fur farms, landscaping, hatcheries, beekeeping, mushroom plants, green houses, nurseries and market gardening.

Unless an application is made to that effect, Part I of the Act will not apply to (1) a member of a communal farming operation, (2) a participant in a farming operation operated jointly by two or more persons as between whom the relationship of employee and employer does not exist, or (3) a participant in a work or labour exchange arrangement between farmers as between whom the relationship of employee and employer does not exist.

Michel Gauvin is a legislation analyst with Labour Canada

Earnings ceiling

The increases in the maximum annual insurable earnings have been as in Table 1.

Benefits to dependants

Most jurisdictions have amended their legislation concerning the benefits paid to the dependant(s) of a worker whose death is covered by their workers' compensation scheme.

Effective July 1, 1976, the **Alberta**

Table 1

Jurisdiction	Increase	Date of coming into force
Alberta	from $13,000 to $14,500	1/7/76
British Columbia	from $13,600 to $15,600	1/1/77
Manitoba	from $15,000 to $16,000	1/1/77
New Brunswick	from $ 9,000 to $12,000	1/1/76
Newfoundland	from $10,500 to $12,000	1/7/76
Prince Edward Island	from $ 9,000 to $12,000	1/1/77
Saskatchewan	from $14,000 to $16,000	1/1/77
Yukon Territory	from $12,000 to $13,000	1/1/77
Federal (Merchant Seamen)	from $ 9,000 to $12,000	6/7/76

orkers' Compensation Amend-
ent Act, 1976, brought increases
the income of dependants. The
onthly pension payable to a
pendent widow or widower
ceiving compensation in respect
an accident that occurred on or
tween January 1, 1974 and
ne 30, 1976, has been increased
a factor of 10.5 per cent. The
inimum pension is $405 per
onth with no special allowance
r dependent children.

the accident occurred before
nuary 1, 1974, a dependent
dow or invalid widower now
ceives a monthly payment of
20 plus an allowance of $90 per
onth for each eligible dependent
ild. Foster parents receive the
nsion and the child allowance
st mentioned. If there is more
an one foster parent arrange-
ent, the pension is shared and
ild allowance is paid according
the number of children cared
r.

ne lump sum to which a depen-
nt widow or widower is entitled
case of remarriage on or after
ly 1, 1976, has been raised to
,840.

hen a dependent widow or
idower dies or remarries on or
ter Juy 1, 1976, a monthly
mount of $90 must be paid to
ch eligible dependent child who
not being maintained as a foster
ild.

Manitoba, the dependent widow
invalid widower of a worker who
ed before January 1, 1974, now
ceives a monthly payment of
10 compared to $250 previously.
ne allowance for a child under 16
nt up from $70 to $77 a month
d from $80 to $88 when he/she
an orphan. The monthly amount
id in respect of a child of 16
ars or over continuing his
ducation and still entitled to
nefits was increased from $80 to $88 and from $90 to $99 when he/she is an orphan.

The allowance granted to a workman's mother who was wholly dependent upon his earnings, has been raised from $250 to $310 a month.

In the case of a worker's death that occurred between December 31, 1973 and July 1, 1976, the dependent widow or invalid widower receives the greater of:

- the permanent total disability pension the worker would have received if he had survived; or
- the compensation paid in respect of a death that occurred before 1974 (as outlined above).

The same applies where a worker dies after June 30, 1976, except that compensation is paid without regard to whether the spouse is an invalid or not.

The lump sum payment in fatal accident cases, which had been $650, payable to the widow or foster parent, has been increased to $750 for a death occurring on or after June 11, 1976. Also, it has been made payable to the surviving spouse, or if there is no surviving spouse, to the deceased workman's estate or such person as the Workers' Compensation Board determines.

In **New Brunswick,** effective January 1, 1976, maximum burial expenses have been increased from $500 to $600, and the payments to the surviving spouse (formerly widow or invalid widower) were upgraded from $140 to $250 monthly, with an additional amount of $50 per month compared to $40 previously, for each eligible dependent child. Also, the lump sum payment to a surviving spouse has been raised from $300 to $500.

Effective July 20, 1976, amendments to the **Newfoundland** Workmen's Compensation Act have increased funeral costs to a maximum of $500 for a deceased worker and the costs of transporting the body to a maximum of $150 from a maximum of $400 and $125 respectively.

The monthly pension to a widow or invalid widower has been raised from $225 to $250. Also, the allowance in respect of a dependent child under 16 went up from $50 to $60 per month.

In **Prince Edward Island,** the monthly payment to a widow or invalid widower has been raised from $150 to $250, effective April 1, 1976.

The **federal** jurisdiction has increased, by Order in Council, benefits paid to dependants of merchant seamen covered by the Merchant Seamen Compensation Act.

The maximum expenses of burial payable at the death of a seaman have been upgraded from $400 to $450.

The monthly pension to a widow or invalid widower has been raised from $175 to $250 with an additional monthly payment of $55 (previously $45) for each eligible dependent child. The allowance paid in respect of an orphan child entitled to benefits under the Act, has been increased to $70 per month.

The lump sum payable to a widow or foster mother, in the case of a seaman's death, went up from $400 to $500.

In British Columbia, Nova Scotia, Québec and the Yukon Territory, benefits to dependants are automatically increased in relation to the cost of living.

Disability benefits

The legislation governing compensation for disability incurred at work has been amended in many instances. In nine jurisdictions, the minimum compensation for total disability was increased as in Table 2.

In **Alberta,** effective July 1, 1976, all existing permanent disability pensions have been increased by 10.5 per cent with a minimum of $405 per month for permanent total disability, and a proportionate monthly amount for permanent partial disability.

Effective July 1, 1976, **Manitoba** raised past permanent disability awards by 22.9 per cent for accidents that happened before January 1, 1974, and by 10.4 per cent for those between December 31, 1973 and January 1, 1975. However, this does not apply in respect of a person receiving compensation for a partial disability of less than 10 per cent. The minimum compensation for a total disability that occurred before Juy 1, 1976 has been increased from $250 to $400 per month. For permanent partial disability the minimum is a proportion of $400 in accordance with the degree of disability determined by the Board, unless the impairment does not exceed 10 per cent.

In **New Brunswick,** the minimum number of days of disability required before compensation is paid has been reduced from four to one day.

As of July 20, 1976, amendments to the **Newfoundland** Workmen's Compensation Act increased by 15 per cent the amount of compensation payable to a worker having a permanent disability in respect of an accident that occurred before January 1, 1974, and by 10 per cent as of January 20, 1977, in respect of an accident that occurred before January 1, 1976. However, this does not apply in the case of permanent partial disability in respect of which a lump sum has been paid before July 1, 1976.

Table 2

Jurisdiction	Permanent total	Temporary total
Alberta	$405 per month (formerly $365)	weekly equivalen of permanent to
British Columbia	$426.20 per month (formerly $412.43)	$98.35 per week (formerly $95.17)
Manitoba	$400 per month* (formerly $250)	$400 per month (formerly $250)
New Brunswick	$400 per month (formerly $250)	$90 per week* (formerly $45)
Newfoundland	$379.50 per month (formerly $345)	$69.23 per week (no change)
Nova Scotia	$284 per month (formerly $273)	$82.50 per week (formerly $75)
Prince Edward Island	$60 per week* (formerly $45)	$60 per week* (formerly $45)
Federal (Merchant Seamen)	$75 per week* (formerly $45)	$75 per week* (formerly $45)
Yukon Territory	$66 per week* (formerly $61)	$66 per week* (formerly $61)

*or earnings if less.

Medical review panels

Additions have been made to the **New Brunswick** Workmen's Compensation Act which provide for the appointment of medical review panels constituted of a chairman appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council and two medical practitioners representing respectively the worker (or his dependants) and employer (or last employer) and chosen in accordance with the Act.

Following a procedure specified the legislation, a workman, his employer or former employer or representative of either of them may notify the Workmen's Compensation Board that he is aggrieved by a medical decision has made. The workman will the be examined by a medical revie

nel. This may also be ordered on the board's own motion.

nilar provisions exist for fatality ses where a dependant or the t employer of a deceased work- n is aggrieved by the decision the Workmen's Compensation ard concerning the cause of ath.

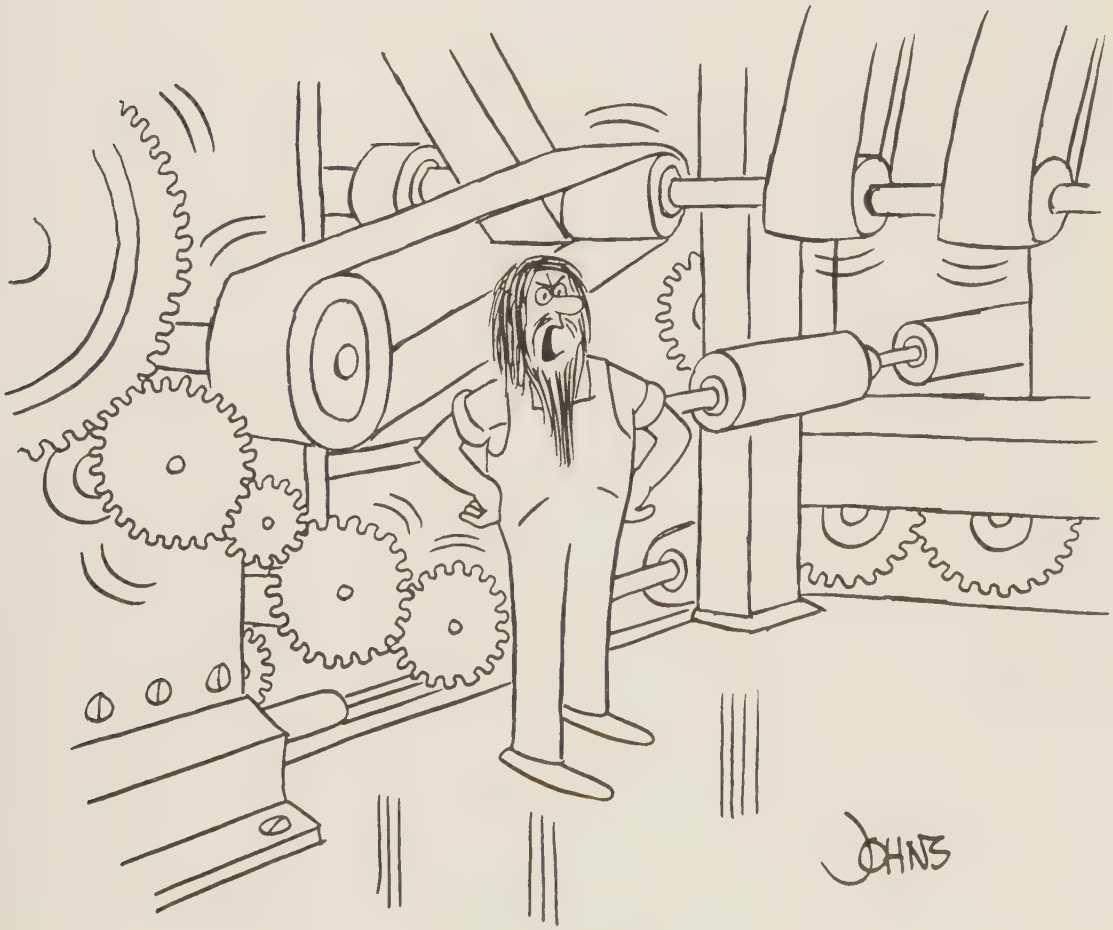
certificate of a medical review nel is conclusive, binding on the ard and cannot be open to estion or review in any court.

Compensable diseases

In **Nova Scotia,** a new provision in the Workmen's Compensation Act stipulates that any coal miner who has worked at the face of a mine or in similar conditions for 25 years or more and who suffers from a demonstrable loss of lung function about which there is doubt as to whether or not it is pneumoconiosis or silicosis and which cannot be attributed to any other cause, will be compensated according to his disability.

Protection of workers against legal action

Effective July 1, 1976 an amendment to the **Alberta** Workers' Compensation Act states that when a worker suffers a compensable accident, neither himself, his dependants, his legal representative nor his employer have any cause for legal action against any employer or against any worker of an employer in any industry to which the Act applies. lg



"I THINK YOU PUT ME IN THIS SECTION ON PURPOSE!"

Books

Beyond Industrial Growth

Abraham Rotstein, ed., University of Toronto Press, Toronto & Buffalo, 1976.

The six essays, part of a 1976 lecture series at Massey College, Toronto, focus on the question of what sort of society is possible in a post-growth era. The contributors include such notable Canadian figures as: A.W. Johnson, president of the CBC; Claude Castonguay, former Quebec minister of health and welfare; Charles Taylor, political scientist formerly at McGill University and now at Oxford; George Grant, professor of religion at McMaster University; Senator Maurice Lamontagne and Vivian Rakoff, professor of psychiatric education at the University of Toronto.

The article by Johnson is the most interesting for he challenges frequently held notions about the utility of certain economic models. He suggests that "Economics in Canada as elsewhere, in short, seems to have been drifting farther away from the 'grand issues'." (p.24). Since competing normative values rather than economic utility are the bases for calculations Johnson wisely suggests that social-science-based planning models, rather than market models, are the most comprehensive mode of analysis (p.42). Therefore, terms such as power, authority and legitimacy are stressed. Paradoxically Johnson leaves out the most important concept, that of communication, from his list. Given the importance of the concept of communications flow in systems analysis, and of course in the CBC, this is a curious omission.

Johnson, in pointing out the common criticisms of the new economics — joint high inflation and high unemployment — suggests a partial cause in claiming that "...we live in a society where the capacity to set prices and wages will not be broken by excessive reductions in demand." (p.39). However to infer from this, as Johnson does, that excessive corporate and union power now exist is to establish a misleading equation. Certainly large unions possess high visibility, perhaps even higher than many private corporations, but such publicity is not the same as power. Therein lies the difference. Corporate power is of a magnitude that far exceeds that of Canadian unions. To assert otherwise is to ignore the concentration of wealth, information and status that exists in our society.

Claude Castonguay's interesting article on social progress also focuses on the interaction between our value system and our economy and notes the decline in traditional work attitudes and growing alienation. He suggests greater decentralization and participation as a method of ameliorating our social malaise.

Charles Taylor discusses the nature of politics in a steady-sta economy. In so doing he notes that little progress has occurred terms of reducing social and economic inequality. Instead, in the past "Our society relies on growth to meet one of the most pressing demands made on it, th for a just and more equal distrib tion of benefits." (p.51). Such substitute solutions, he suggest may no longer be possible and warns that static redistribution substantially more difficult to achieve. While avoiding the Marxian implications of his premise, Taylor does, however, note the potential for greater turmoil in such a conflict-orient zero-growth situation.

Senator Lamontagne's weak ess contains a rambling outline of technological inventions and the social impact. This chapter lack any systematic organization or overview and his choices at time seem random. His omission of a reference to the works of the gr Canadian communications scho Marshall McLuhan is most disap pointing. A few of the books ignored include: *The Gutenberg Galaxy, Understanding Media* an *The Medium is the Massage.* Lamontagne's Cold War invectiv against 'dictatorial socialism' detracts from his otherwise use main theme of rising expectatio fuelling the demand for unregul ted growth.

Vivianne Rakoff's article on the Freudian left and George Grant' rambling critique of computers

d technology are also disap-
intments.

eyond Industrial Growth is an successful attempt to discuss o most pressing issues — the cial cost of economic growth d the viability of no-growth cieties. The range and depth of e articles reflect a less than inspired choice of viewpoints. Why no senior CIDA official, no communications theorists or scientific figures were chosen seems puzzling. Certainly McLuhan or David Suzuki would have been provocative and perhaps more appropriate figures to discuss such issues. The public, one sincerely believes, would best be served by a revised and expanded version of this disappointing 131-page book. In the interim it may suffice.

— Alan Whitehorn

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Research Notes

ollective agreements

abour Relations Board of B.C., *nnual Report, 1976.*

study of 1,200 certifications anted in B.C. in 1974 and in the st six months of 1975 revealed at more than two thirds of the argaining units achieved a first greement within six months of rtification, almost 85 per cent ithin 12 months, and approxi-ately 90 per cent within 18 onths. The study was undertaken order to arrive at a more formed judgment about the use the Section 70 procedure of the abour Code, which empowers the oard to impose "first contract bitration" in cases where the arties have not been able to ngage in serious, good faith argaining following certification.

everance Pay Plans in Ontario ollective Bargaining Agreements. esearch Branch, Ontario Ministry Labour, March 1977.

s of December 1976, 26 per cent 893 Ontario collective agree-ents, covering 48 per cent of the mployees, contained provision for everance pay. Industries in which everance pay plans were most ommonly found were rubber, paper, transportation equipment, transportation, and federal administration. Closure of a facility, lack of work, and termination after extended lay-off were the most commonly listed conditions for granting severance pay. In almost all of the plans, the amount of severance pay was related to years of service.

Dispute settlement

"Impasse Procedures in the Canadian Federal Service: Effects on the Bargaining Process", by John C. Anderson and Thomas A. Kochan. *Industrial and Labour Relations Review*, April 1977.

An analysis of the experience of 49 federal public service bargaining units over four rounds of bargaining provides support for the view that arbitration has negative consequences for collective bargaining. Over the four rounds, the proportion of units settling on their own, with no third-party assistance, steadily decreased. Moreover, in all cases, experience with the impasse procedure increased the probability of relying on third parties in the subsequent round of bargaining. Finally, dissatisfaction with the arbitration system has resulted in an increasing movement toward the conciliation-strike option. The authors propose procedural reforms in the dispute resolution process, including an equalization of the scope of bargaining under the two impasse routes.

Job satisfaction

"The criteria for job satisfaction: is interesting work most important? by Bernard J. White. *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1977.

The author questions the validity of the conclusions drawn from a recent U.S. government-sponsored report, which found that the average worker ranks "interesting work" first in importance among 25 job factors. The critical question, he maintains, is not how important a factor is to the worker but to what degree he perceives his need for that factor as currently satisfied in comparison with its importance. Using a measure that takes this into account, the author finds that for blue-collar workers, pay, fringe benefits, and job security are the factors with the largest "satisfaction discrepancy," while interesting work ranks fifth or sixth. The major

satisfaction discrepancies of white-collar workers are opportunities to develop special ability (first); pay (second); enough help and equipment (third) and interesting work (fourth). Fringe benefits and job security, ranked very high by blue-collar workers, are at the bottom of the top ten for white-collar workers.

"Company Satisfaction, Company Commitment and Work Involvement: An Empirical Examination of Blue-Collar Workers," by V. Baba and M. Jamal. *Relations industrielles*, Vol. 31, No. 3.

This study investigates the relationship among company satisfaction, company commitment and work involvement for a sample of blue-collar workers drawn from packaging, power distribution and manufacturing industries in Canada. Using various statistical techniques, the authors find that these factors are related to each other, though attitudes vary according to such factors as age, sex, education, marital status, pay, and experience.

Labour-management co-operation

Breakthroughs in Union-Management Co-operation. Work in America Institute, Inc., May 1977.

Based on a recent conference, this report presents theoretical overviews and case studies of new forms of participation in the workplace. Among the cases discussed are Harman International's Bolivar Project; Dana Corporation's Scanlon Plans; the Joint Labor-Management Committee of the Retail Food Industry; Rockwell International's Socio-Technical Systems Strategy; and the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service's Relationships by Objectives process.

Low income workers

A Profile of Low-Wage Workers in British Columbia, by C. Aykroyd and P. Stanton. B.C. Ministry of Labour, March 1977.

Based on a study carried out at several Canada Manpower Centres during the second half of 1975, this study details a wide range of personal and labour market characteristics of low-wage workers (defined as persons earning less than $4.00 per hour). Among the findings: (1) over two thirds of those classified as low-wage workers were women and more than half were under 25 years of age; (2) slightly more than half were single and over 80 per cent stated that they had no dependants; (3) over 80 per cent of the sample had some high school education or better and there was a significant proportion with university or other advanced education; (4) recent immigrants to the province did not appear to hold a disproportionate number of low-wage positions; (5) two thirds of the sample and almost 80 per cent of low-wage women had clerical, sales, or service occupations.

Jobs and Poverty. National Council of Welfare, June 1977.

Fully 60 per cent of low-income family units headed by persons aged under 65 rely on work rather than government assistance for their inadequate incomes. The total number of Canadians in working-poor families is close to one-and-a-half million. This report outlines the differences between the normal labour market and the marginal labour market in which the working poor tend to be employed, and makes a number of policy recommendations. Among the Council's proposals: an income supplementation program; a broadening of labour standards legislation to guarantee a range of fringe benefits and working conditions similar to those enjoyed by organized workers; improved job creation programs; and increased in retirement income under the Canada/Quebec Pension Plan and OAS program.

Shift work

Social Problems of Shift Work. ILO, May 1977 (mimeographed).

The increase in the number of workers employed in shift work was of the order of 100 per cent from 1950 to 1974 according to an ILO working paper for a symposium on shift work problems. Shift workers may comprise 15 to 30 per cent of the active population, depending on the country concerned. However, this trend could well be reversed as knowledge increases on the human and social costs involved and as people aspire to a better quality of life.

Youth unemployment

Young People and Work. Manpower Services Commission, London, May 1977.

In October 1976, Britain's Manpower Services Commission established a Working Party to consider the feasibility of ensuring that "young people of 16 to 18 years of age who have no job or who are not engaged in further or higher education should have the opportunity of training, of participating in a job creation programme or of work experience." The report of the Working Party analyzes past employment trends and future prospects, reviews existing services and programs, and proposes a new program of training and work experience opportunities for young people.

The foregoing was prepared by Laurence Kelly, an independent industrial relations writer and researcher in Kingston, Ontario.

PRICES, EMPLOYMENT, AND EARNINGS

ty consumer, May

om April to May, consumer price dexes rose in all regional cities. creases ranged from 0.4 per cent Winnipeg to 0.8 per cent in six her cities. Higher food prices — tably for beef, fresh produce, ffee, soft drinks, butter and gar, and increased shelter arges — were mainly respon- ble for these increases. Other portant factors included higher ices for barber and hairdressing rvices, seasonal recreational uipment, new cars and for beer d liquor.

six cities — St. John's, Quebec, ontreal, Toronto, Thunder Bay d Regina — the increase was 0.8 r cent. Percentage increases in e other eight cities were: 0.7 in alifax and Calgary; 0.6 in Saint hn, Ottawa and Edmonton; 0.4 in innipeg; 0.5 in Saskatoon and ancouver. Between May 1976 and ay 1977, percentage increases corded in the 14 regional cities ere: 7.4 in St. John's; 8.1 in alifax; 7.3 in Saint John; 8.5 in uebec; 8.1 in Montreal; 7.9 in ttawa; 7.4 in Toronto; 7.7 in hunder Bay; 7.3 in Winnipeg; 8.1 Saskatoon; 9.5 in Regina; 8.6 in dmonton; 8.5 in Calgary; 6.2 in ancouver.

nsumer, June

ne all-items Consumer Price dex for Canada (1971 = 100) lvanced 0.7 per cent to 160.3 in ne from 159.2 in May. Slightly re than two fifths of this latest crease was due to a 1.1 per cent e in the food index. The index r all-items, excluding food, advanced 0.6 per cent. Between June 1976 and June 1977, the total CPI increased 7.8 per cent. Slightly more than one quarter of the 1.1 per cent increase in the food index was because of higher prices for pork products which increased 4.7 per cent on average in the latest month, but were still 4.2 per cent below their level of a year ago. Seasonally higher prices for fresh fruit and increased prices for coffee, tea, dairy products, bread, soft drinks and restaurant meals, also contributed to this latest increase. Lower prices for beef products, fresh vegetables and sugar, partially offset these increases. The index for food consumed at home advanced 1.3 per cent in latest month, and rose 9.2 per cent in the six-month period between December 1976 and June 1977.

Increased shelter charges for both owned and rented accommodation were responsible for a large proportion of the 0.6 per cent rise in the index for all-items excluding food; higher telephone rates in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia also had a relatively large impact. Notable price increases were also registered for dry cleaning services, train and inter-city bus fares, parking and footwear. Between June 1976 and June 1977, the index for all-items excluding food advanced 8.2 per cent.

In terms of goods and services, the price level of goods, including food, increased by 0.7 per cent in the latest month while that for services advanced 0.8 per cent. Between June 1976 and June 1977, the price level of services increased 9.4 per cent and that for goods 6.9 per cent. Seasonally adjusted, the all-items CPI advanced 0.4 per cent between May and June. This included a 0.5 per cent rise in the food index and a 0.4 per cent increase in the index for all-items excluding food.

Employment, June

The seasonally adjusted employment level in June was 731,000, a decrease of 18,000 from May, Statistics Canada reported. The level for women 25 years of age and over increased by 2,000, and for women aged 15 to 24, it decreased by 6,000. There were increases of 3,000, among men 25 years of age and over, and a decline of 17,000 among men aged 15-24. By province, the seasonally adjusted employment level increased in Saskatchewan by 6,000; in British Columbia by 6,000. It decreased in Ontario by 19,000; in Alberta by 14,000; in Quebec by 11,000. The level showed little or no change in the remaining provinces.

Unemployment, June

The seasonally adjusted unemployment rate increased by 0.1 per cent to 8.0 per cent (847,000) in June. It declined by 0.1 per cent to 14.4 per cent for men aged 15 to 24 and increased by 0.1 per cent to 13.6 per cent for women in the same age group. For men 25 years of age and over it increased by 0.1 per cent to 5.1 per cent, and for women in the same age group it increased by 0.2 per cent to 7.2 per cent.

Provincially, the seasonally-adjusted unemployment rate declined by 0.9 per cent to 9.7 per cent in Prince Edward Island; by 0.9 per cent to 4.8 per cent in Saskatchewan; by 0.3 per cent to 9.7 per cent in Quebec; by 0.1 per

cent to 4.1 per cent in Alberta; by 0.1 per cent to 7.2 per cent in Ontario. The unemployment rate increased by 1.0 per cent to 15.7 per cent in Newfoundland; by 0.6 per cent to 12.8 per cent in New Brunswick; by 0.5 per cent to 11.1 per cent in Nova Scotia; by 0.5 per cent to 8.3 per cent in British Columbia. The rate remained at 6.1 per cent in Manitoba.

Earnings, April

Average weekly earnings in Canadian industry were $246.12 in April, an increase of 9.7 per cent from $224.40 a year ago. Provincially, average weekly earnings, unadjusted, were highest in British Columbia, $276.22; Alberta, $257.83; Ontario, $246.38; Quebec, $241.00; Newfoundland, $237.87; Saskatchewan, $231.42; Manitoba, $223.33; New Brunswick, $223.03; Nova Scotia, $207.20; Prince Edward Island, $181.24.

Average weekly earnings in April by industry division, were: construction, $361.36; mining, $343.23; foresty, $323.64; transportation, communication and other utilities, $285.59; manufacturing, $262.88; finance, insurance and real estate, $227.87; trade, $189.53; service, $168.47.

Compared with April 1976, averag hourly earnings increased 13.1 p cent in construction, 11.2 per ce in manufacturing and 9.2 per ce in mining.

Weekly earnings in the United States in April, by industry division, were: mining, $299.40; construction, $290.40; manufacturing, $220.80; transportation an public utilities, $271.20; wholesa and retail trade, $140.01; finance insurance and real estate, $166.6 services, $154.51.

General minimum rates for experienced adult workers

Jurisdiction	Rates per hour
Federal	$2.90 effective April 1, 1976
Alberta	$3.00 effective March 1, 1977
British Columbia	$3.00 effective June 1, 1976
Manitoba	$2.95 effective September 1, 1976
New Brunswick	$2.80 effective November 1, 1976
Newfoundland	$2.50 effective January 1, 1976
Nova Scotia	$2.75 effective January 1, 1977
Ontario	$2.65 effective March 15, 1976
Prince Edward Island	$2.70 effective July 1, 1977 $2.70 effective July 1, 1977
Québec	$3.15 effective July 1, 1977
Saskatchewan	$3.00 effective January 1, 1977
Northwest Territories	$3.00 effective June 7, 1976
Yukon Territory*	$3.00 effective April 1, 1976

*Federal rate plus 10 cents.

Minimum wage rates for young workers and students*

Jurisdiction	Rates per hour	Effective date
Federal	Employees under 17: $2.65	April 1, 1976
Alberta	Employees under 18: $2.85	March 1, 1977
	Students under 18 employed part-time: $2.50	March 1, 1977
British Columbia	Employees 17 and under: $2.60	June 1, 1976
Manitoba	Employees under 18: $2.70	September 1, 1
Nova Scotia	Underage employees: 14 to 18 years $2.50	January 1, 1977
Ontario	Students under 18 employed for not more than 28 hours in a week or during a school holiday: $2.15	March 15, 1976
Prince Edward Island	Employees under 18: $2.35	July 1, 1977
Québec	Employees under 18: $2.95	July 1, 1977
Northwest Territories	Employees under 17: $2.55	June 7, 1976

*New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Saskatchewan and Yukon Territory have special rates for young workers or students.

abour statistics

ncipal Items	Date	Amount	Percentage change from Previous Month	Percentage change from Previous Year
TAL CIVILIAN LABOUR FORCE*		(unadjusted figures, in thousands)		
Week ended May 21, 1977		10,645	+ 2.9	+ 3.5
Employed	May 1977	9,822	+ 4.2	+ 2.5
Agriculture	" "	488	+ 3.6	+ 3.1
Non-agriculture	" "	9,334	+ 3.8	+ 2.5
Paid workers	" "	9,562	+ 2.8	+ 10.5
At work 35 hours or more	" "	7,376	+ 31.1	+ 369.2
At work less than 35 hours	" "	1,960	- 40.3	+ 8.7
Employed but not at work	" "	486	- 5.4	+ 14.0
		(change in thousands)		
Unemployed	May 1977	824	- 90	+ 116
Newfoundland	" "	30	- 5	+ 5
Nova Scotia	" "	35	- 6	+ 4
Prince Edward Island	" "	5	- 2	—
New Brunswick	" "	36	- 2	+ 4
Quebec	" "	274	- 13	+ 59
Ontario	" "	277	- 23	+ 48
Manitoba	" "	24	- 7	+ 7
Saskatchewan	" "	18	- 7	+ 5
Alberta	" "	36	- 5	- 1
British Columbia	" "	89	- 20	- 14
Without work, seeking work and available for work	" "	750	- 57	+ 125
		percentage change		
DUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT (1961 = 100) r	February 1977	139.7	- 0.2	+ 0.2
Manufacturing employment (1961 = 100) r	" "	123.1	- 0.3	- 2.4
MIGRATION	Calendar year 1976	149,429	—	- 20
Destined to the labour force	" " "	61,461	—	- 24
RIKES AND LOCKOUTS ‡				
Strikes and lockouts	April 1977	149	+ 17.3	- 2.7
No. of workers involved	" "	38,522	+ 66.3	+ 87.4
Duration in man days	" "	341,710	+ 72.3	- 49.0
RNINGS AND INCOME				
Average weekly earnings (ind. comp.) r	February 1977	242.46	+ 1.3	+ 10.2
Average hourly earnings (mfg.) r	" "	6.17	+ 1.0	+ 12.0
Average weekly hours paid (mfg.) r	" "	38.9	+ 1.0	—
Consumer price index (1971 = 100)	May 1977	159.2	+ 0.8	+ 7.6
Index numbers of weekly wages in 1961 dollars (1961 = 100) r	February 1977	154.0	+ 0.9	+ 4.3
DUSTRIAL PRODUCTION ‡				
Total (average 1971 = 100)	April 1977	122.3	- 0.3	+ 2.6
Manufacturing	" "	121.3	+ 0.2	+ 1.7
Durables	" "	122.9	- 0.1	+ 0.2
Non-durables	" "	119.8	+ 0.7	+ 3.3
W RESIDENTIAL CONSTRUCTION **				
Starts	April 1977	14,961	—	- 24
Completions	" "	13,474	—	- 13
Under construction	" "	12,407	—	+ 48

Source: Statistics Canada. *Labour Force Information*, Cat. No. 71-001P and *The Labour Force*, Cat. 71-001
Advance data
Preliminary
Centres of 10,000 population or more
Revised

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

Statistical information on work stoppages in Canada is compiled by the Labour Data Branch of the Canada Department of Labour on the basis reports from the Canada Manpower Division, Department of Manpower and Immigration. The tables cover strikes and lockouts that amount to 1 more man-days. The number of workers involved includes all workrs reported on strike or lockout, whether or not they all belonged to the u directly involved in the disputes leading to the work stoppages. Workers indirectly affected, such as those laid off as a result of a work stoppage not included.

TIME PERSPECTIVE ON WORK STOPPAGES, APRIL 1976

Period	Number beginning during month	Work stoppages in existence during month or year			Per cen estim wor
		Number	Workers involved	Duration in man-days	
Year					
1971	547	569	239,631	2,866,590	
1972	556	598	706,474	7,753,530	
1973	677	724	348,470	5,776,080	
1974	1,173	1,218	580,912	9,221,890	
1975	1,103	1,171	506,443	10,908,810	
1976*	913	1,030	1,582,631	10,624,130	
1976*					
April	75	153	303,957	669,470	
May	96	168	265,912	653,010	
June	125	233	187,524	1,131,820	
July	69	183	78,020	1,271,320	
August	78	193	89,791	942,950	
September	54	175	136,027	1,738,990	
October	49	155	904,953	1,646,500	
November	39	129	51,260	491,380	
December	37	120	45,352	258,990	
1977*					
January	40	95	26,820	201,700	
February	39	106	18,605	199,440	
March	63	127	23,153	198,240	
April	74	149	38,522	341,710	
January-April: 1977		271		941,090	
January-April: 1976		365		2,489,170	

*Preliminary.

WORK STOPPAGES BY INDUSTRY, APRIL 1977 (Preliminary)

Industry	Number beginning during month	Work stoppages in existence during month			Cumulative duration in man-days (Jan. to Apr.)
		Number	Workers involved	Duration in man-days	
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0
Forestry	0	1	231	4,620	11,090
Fishing	2	2	79	500	20,800
Mines	2	5	1,127	7,070	63,360
Manufacturing	36	73	20,063	228,450	558,750
Construction	10	14	5,781	14,400	39,900
Transp. & Utilities	2	11	1,862	7,740	31,990
Trade	5	11	636	7,600	24,430
Finance	0	1	50	800	4,120
Service	7	19	3,666	43,940	155,210
Public Admin.	10	12	5,027	26,590	31,440
Various industries	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	74	149	38,522	341,710	941,090

WORK STOPPAGES BY JURISDICTION, APRIL 1977 (Preliminary)

Jurisdiction	Number beginning during month	Work stoppages in existence during month			Cu la d tio n (Jan A
		Number	Workers involved	Duration in man-days	
Nfld.	3	5	650	14,320	91
P.E.I.	0	0	0	0	
N.S.	2	3	50	420	
N.B.	2	2	180	350	3
Québec	28	58	14,967	169,850	469
Ontario	25	50	16,419	100,490	242
Manitoba	0	1	145	2,900	14
Saskatchewan	7	9	1,246	2,210	7
Alberta	1	4	424	6,680	21
B.C.	4	7	2,001	27,440	40
Yukon & N.W.T.	0	0	0	0	
Total, provinces	72	139	36,082	324,660	891
Federal Public Service(1)	2	2	260	1,040	2
Federal Industries(2)	0	8	2,180	16,010	47
Federal total	2	10	2,440	17,050	49
TOTAL	74	149	38,522	341,710	941

(1) Covered under the Public Service Staff Relations Act.
(2) Covered under the Canada Labour Code: Part V.

NOTE: Numbers relate only to workers directly involved in dispute.